DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 186 320 SO 012 557

AUTHOR Bulatao, Rodolfo A.
TITLE The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study, Volume Two. Philippines.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. East-West Center.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 232p.; For related documents, see SO 012 082 and SO 012 556-561.
AVAILABLE FROM University Press of Hawaii, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, HI 96822 ($3.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Abortions; *Children; Comparative Analysis; Contraception; Developing Nations; *Family Planning; Foreign Countries; *Parent Attitudes; Participant Characteristics; Policy Formation; Population Trends; Public Policy; Research Methodology; Social Science Research; *Socioeconomic Influences; Tables (Data); *Values
IDENTIFIERS *Philippines

ABSTRACT

This volume, second in a series of seven reports of the Value of Children Project, discusses results of the survey in the Philippines. The study identifies major values and disvalues that Filipino parents attach to children. It also examines characteristics of parents that are related to values and disvalues. The document is presented in seven chapters. Chapter I discusses approaches and methods of the survey. Questionnaires were administered to 389 married parents. Items covered motives for having or not having another child, family size, family size characteristics, and family planning practice. Chapter II describes the child values and disvalues enumerated by parents. Chapter III examines questions of value differences between individuals by correlating value indices and social characteristics of the respondent. Chapter IV deals with economic values associated with children. Chapter V considers to what degree child values and disvalues affect family size desires and Chapter VI considers their effect on several family planning indices. Chapter VII summarizes findings and suggests implications for population policy. Results indicate that values are happiness that children bring to parents, assistance they provide in old age, help with housework, love between parent and child, and the desire to learn about life through having children. The most prominent disvalue is financial burden; others are discipline and anxiety over children's health. Policy implications include further promotion of family planning and a change in the quality of social relations which could reduce family size desires. (Author/KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED186320

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Sandra E. Ward

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

volume two

the value of children

a cross-national study

philippines

rodolfo a. bulatao

SP 012 557

east-west population institute · east-west center · honolulu hawaii

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

The Value of children.

Includes bibliographies.
CONTENTS: v. 2. Bulatao, R. A. Philippines. –v. 3. Arnold, F. and Fawcett, J. T. Hawaii.
1. Children. 2. Family. 3. Child study.
I. East-West Population Institute.
HQ751.V34 301.42'7 75-8934
ISBN 0-8248-0384-1 (v. 2)

Published in 1975 by the East-West Population Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii.
All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.
Distributed by the University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814.

contents

PREFACE *ix*

CHAPTER 1 Introduction *1*
- On specifying values *2*
- Some previous studies *5*
- Basic approaches *9*
- Method *10*
- Sample characteristics *15*
- Structure of the report *15*

CHAPTER 2 Values and disvalues of having children *19*
- Advantages and disadvantages of children *20*
- Reasons for wanting sons and daughters *33*
- Attitude scales for the value of children *38*
- Value dimensions from the VOC scales *41*
- Advantages and disadvantages of children compared with VOC scales *67*
- Number-specific reasons for wanting children *72*
- Motives for having or not having additional children *75*
- The structure of values attached to children *81*
- The content of values attached to children *84*

CHAPTER 3 Factors affecting values and disvalues *88*
Male-female contrasts *88*
Urban-rural contrasts *90*
Determinants of value salience *92*
Determinants of value centrality *100*

CHAPTER 4 Perceptions of the economic utility of children *108*
Economic benefits of children *108*
Economic costs of children *113*
Differential perceptions of economic utilities *117*

CHAPTER 5 Values, disvalues, and family-size desires *123*
Family-size desires and perceptions *123*
Preliminary model for values and family-size desires *129*
Determinants of family-size desires *132*
Urban-rural and male-female differences *143*
Further analysis of the effects of values *149*
Personal efficacy as a moderator variable *160*
Summary *171*

CHAPTER 6 Values, disvalues, and family planning *173*
Contraceptive practice and attitudes toward birth control *174*
Family-size desires and contraception *177*
Predicting contraceptive practice *183*
Family planning and value salience *191*
Summary *193*

CHAPTER 7 Conclusion *196*
Salient and central values and disvalues *197*
Effects of values and disvalues *201*
Limitations and possible extensions *202*
Implications for public policy *204*

APPENDIX A Coding categories for advantages and disadvantages of children *209*

APPENDIX B Model for child production and values *212*

REFERENCES *215*

TABLES AND EXHIBITS

Tables

1.1 Sample areas *13*

1.2 Social and economic characteristics of respondents *16*

1.3 Demographic characteristics of respondents *18*

2.1 General advantages of having children *20*

2.2 Specific advantages of having children, ranked by frequency of mention and respondents' judgment of importance *22*

2.3 Specific advantages of having children *24*

2.4 Most important advantages of having children *25*

2.5 Expected reliance on economic assistance from children in old age *26*

2.6 General disadvantages of having children *27*

2.7 Specific disadvantages of having children, ranked by frequency of mention and respondents' judgment of importance *28*

2.8 Specific disadvantages of having children *30*

2.9 Most important disadvantages of having children *31*

2.10 Perceived reasons why other people want children *32*

2.11 Reduced set of advantages and disadvantages *34*

2.12 Reasons for wanting a son *36*

2.13 Reasons for wanting a daughter *37*

2.14 Mean level of agreement with VOC attitude items *39*

2.15 VOC factor structure for total sample *44*

2.16 VOC factor structure for female subgroup *49*

2.17 VOC factor structure for male subgroup *52*

2.18 VOC factor structure for urban subgroup *55*

2.19 VOC factor structure for rural subgroup *58*

2.20 Correspondence between factor solutions *61*

2.21 Mean scores on VOC indices *64*

2.22 Structure coefficients of two canonical factors, for reduced set of advantages and disadvantages and for VOC attitude items *68*

2.23 Reasons why number of additional children desired is not smaller *73*

2.24 Reasons why number of additional children desired is not greater *74*

2.25 Reasons for not wanting additional children *74*

2.26 Motives for having another child *76*

2.27 Motives for not having another child *78*

Tables, *continued*

2.28 Correlations with parity of motives for having and not having another child *79*

2.29 Perceived qualities of children from small and large families *81*

3.1 Correlations of advantages and disadvantages of children (reduced sets) with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values *94*

3.2 Correlations of VOC indices with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values *100*

3.3 Correlations of motives for having another child with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values *102*

3.4 Correlations of motives for not having another child with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values *104*

4.1 Measures of the perceived economic benefits of children *109*

4.2 Expected reliance on various sources of financial support in old age *111*

4.3 Perceived changes in the economic utility of children over time *113*

4.4 Measures of the perceived economic costs of children *114*

4.5 Perceived financial burden of different numbers of children *115*

4.6 Correlations between indices of the economic utility of children *118*

4.7 Correlations of indices of the economic utility of children with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values *121*

5.1 Family size and family-size desires *124*

5.2 Number of additional children desired, by parity *125*

5.3 Relationship between parity, ideal family size (IFS), and desired family size (DFS) *126*

5.4 Family-size desires and value salience *133*

5.5 Analyses of variance for effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic variables on number of additional children desired *136*

5.6 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on number of additional children desired *137*

5.7 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of number of additional children desired *138*

5.8 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on ideal family size *140*

5.9 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of ideal family size *141*

Tables, *continued*

5.10 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of ideal family size, excluding economic perceptions as predictors *143*

5.11 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on parity *144*

5.12 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of parity *145*

5.13 Correlations of predictors with family-size desires, for urban and rural subgroups *147*

5.14 Correlations of predictors with family-size desires, for female and male subgroups *150*

5.15 Correlations of selected VOC items with family-size desires *151*

5.16 Correlations of motives for having and not having another child with family-size desires, for urban and rural subgroups *153*

5.17 Factor structure, after rotation, of motives for having and not having another child *156*

5.18 Mean scores on value indices, by level of personal efficacy *162*

5.19 Correlations of values with family-size desires, by level of personal efficacy *164*

5.20 Correlations between values and number of additional children desired with parity controlled, by level of personal efficacy and residence *169*

6.1 Contraceptive use *174*

6.2 Contraceptive methods known and used *175*

6.3 Attitudes toward contraception and abortion *176*

6.4 Contraceptive use, by number of additional children desired *177*

6.5 Current use of various contraceptive methods, by number of additional children desired and subgroup *179*

6.6 Current use of various contraceptive methods, by number of additional children desired and level of personal efficacy *180*

6.7 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by adopter status *182*

6.8 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by ideal family size and subgroup *183*

6.9 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by ideal family size and level of personal efficacy *184*

6.10 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on current contraceptive use *184*

6.11 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of current contraceptive use *185*

6.12 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on number of contraceptive methods ever used *187*

6.13 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of number of contraceptive methods ever used *188*

Tables, *continued*

6.14 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on timing of initial contraceptive use *189*

6.15 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of timing of initial contraceptive use *190*

6.16 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on approval of contraception *191*

6.17 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of approval of contraception *192*

6.18 Contraception and value salience *194*

Exhibits

2.1 Indices from VOC attitude items *65*

2.2 Values attached to children that are most and least prominent in centrality, salience, and differential effect *85*

2.3 Disvalues attached to children that are most and least prominent in centrality, salience, and differential effect *86*

3.1 Social-demographic measures and indices of general values used as predictors of values attached to children *93*

5.1 Means on various family-size measures, by subgroup *128*

5.2 Preliminary model for regressions *130*

5.3 Causal models for parity, motives to have and not to have another child, and number of additional children desired *159*

B Model for child production and values *213*

preface

This report is one in a series of country reports from the Value of Children research project. Of the six country reports already produced or still in progress in the series, five deal with the value of children to parents in an East or Southeast Asian country, and the sixth deals with Hawaii. A separate volume covers comparative findings, as well as providing detailed background on the project and a number of relevant documents, such as the core survey questionnaire.

While each country report is based on a separate data set, the reports are generally collaborative endeavors, in each of which ideas, approaches, suggestions, and various other inputs from most of the investigators are reflected. The authorship of each report serves to fix responsibility for it, but is not a claim that its ideas and conclusions are distinctively the author's.

Collaborative arrangements among half a dozen institutions were worked out for the project, and are continuing in a second research phase in which an attempt is being made to study representative national samples and to test more rigorously conclusions from the first phase. The first phase, which this report covers, was primarily exploratory, an attempt to refine various measures and to get some sense of the critical relationships between variables.

Those who assisted the investigators in various aspects of the cross-national studies are acknowledged elsewhere. Here it is necessary to acknowledge those who contributed specifically to the Philippine study. As I have already indicated, my biggest debt is to each of the co-investigators. James T. Fawcett originated the project as a whole,

and kept us fed throughout with a variety of intellectual inputs, from updates on other research he was aware of, to encouraging notes on the recognition that our work and our research topic were receiving elsewhere. The other investigators were Fred Arnold, Chalio Buripakdi, Betty Jamie Chung, Toshio Iritani, Sung Jin Lee, and Tsong-Shien Wu.

Several research assistants worked on the project at the Social Research Laboratory in the Department of Sociology of the University of the Philippines. Among them were Marivi Sobreviñas, Sylvia Bagadion, Marte Aycardo, Aurora S. Lopez, and Edna G. Garcia. A group of student interviewers at the University made an indispensable contribution to this work. For typing numerous drafts of the manuscript and deciphering my arcane notations, I am indebted to Cristina S. Rafael.

As chairman of the Department, Ofelia R. Angangco generally facilitated our work. The East-West Population Institute provided varied assistance, from data analysis to publication of the report. For this help I should acknowledge particularly Sonia Albores, Ann Midkiff, Sandra Ward, and Lois Bender.

Support for this project in the Philippines was provided by the Canadian International Development Research Centre.

R.A.B.

1

introduction

A society without children is a society headed for extinction. Beyond that simple biological fact, if one imagines such a society it is usually seen as embodying cultural disorientation, deterioration, and despair. Arthur C. Clarke (1953) has drawn a futuristic portrait of such a society, and the sense of loss and of cultural disintegration is palpable in his account. Children contribute something of immense, perhaps incalculable, value to a society. It would seem presumptuous to seek the value of children in structured interviews and reduce it to dry statistics. Certainly some of the most central things for which children are valued are worth deep reflection and extended essays all by themselves. Nevertheless, when one turns from children in general to specific children, or to children of a particular age or sex or intelligence or skin color, or when one talks with single persons and newlyweds and grandparents, with housewives and farmers and accountants, one comes up against a bewildering variety of arguments, calculations, clichés, generalizations, and exceptions regarding what children are worth.

This study is concerned with bringing some order to the understanding of the diverse values attached to children. It is concerned with one particular social group that presumably—though one may sometimes doubt it—values children most highly, that is, with parents. The value of children is meant to include both the satisfactions parents receive from children and the costs, or disvalues, they incur in having them.[1] An attempt will be made to identify the major values

1 The term "values" will be used both for positive satisfactions and for satisfactions and costs combined. Which use of the term is intended should be clear from the context.

and disvalues attached to children by Filipino parents as well as to look at characteristics of parents that are related to greater sensitivity to particular values and disvalues.

A second concern of this study is to investigate how child values and disvalues – that is, values and disvalues attached by others to children – relate to desired numbers of children. It may appear that, on the "more of a good thing" principle, the more highly children are valued, the more children should be desired. A little reflection will show, however, that this is not necessarily true. Children are not a homogeneous mass that brings pleasure in added doses up to some satiation point. One does not know how many children are needed to satisfy particular values for an individual or a society, or even if an increase in quantity may not interfere with the enjoyment of children and other satisfactions obtained from them. The "production" of too many children may impair their "quality," through economic and social as well as biological and ecological mechanisms, besides making more difficult the attainment of other cultural values. Children may in fact entail more costs than gain, as John Barth allows one of his characters to argue in "Bellerophoniad":

> She took what she pleased to term the Tragic View of Marriage and Parenthood: reckoning together their joys and griefs must inevitably show a net loss, if only because like life itself their attrition was constant and their term mortal. But one had only different ways of losing, and to eschew matrimony and childbearing for the delights of less serious relations was in her judgment to sustain a net loss even more considerable (Barth, 1972:156).

Whether or not one accepts this argument, it is difficult to sustain the view of a simple direct relationship between the value of children and numbers of children desired.

Investigating this link from the viewpoint of the individual parent leads to questions of how child values affect fertility behavior. From the lay point of view the impact of one's values on one's behavior may be self-evident. Nevertheless, there are many intervening contingencies between values and behavior, such as considerations of contraceptive awareness and efficiency. Moreover, because in much social science there is a positivist distrust of such phenomena as values, which are often perceived through evanescent verbalizations, the demonstration of some link to behavior, or at least to behavioral intentions, should be a useful result.

On specifying values

Several opinions exist in the behavioral sciences about how to define human values and what place they should have in theories of behav-

ioral and cultural systems. While it is beyond the scope of this study to integrate the diverse viewpoints, it is advisable to develop some preliminary understanding of how the term will be used in relation to the value that parents attach to children.

Clyde Kluckhohn, in an often quoted definition, characterizes a value as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (1951:395). Kluckhohn's emphasis on the desirable rather than the desired has been accepted by some (e.g., R.W. White, 1963; Williams, 1968) but faulted by others who prefer to identify values with basic personal needs (Maslow, 1962), approach-avoidance tendencies (Tolman, 1951), or core components of attitude clusters similar to personal philosophies of life (Smith, 1949, 1963; Katz and Stotland, 1959). A possible parallel to the desired-desirable distinction relating specifically to the explanation of human fertility is Namboodiri and Pope's (1968) distinction between the economic approach based on utility and the sociological approach based on norms.

There is divergence too on whether value inheres in the desired or desirable object or in the person desiring or considering desirable the object. W.I. Thomas specified that the target of any person's attitude becomes a value (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918). In parallel fashion Lewin (1935) attached valence to objects, and Skinner continues to insist that the domain of values is identical with the "reinforcing effects of things" (1971:104). On the other side are such writers as Morris (1956), Maslow (1959), and Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), for whom values are orientations inhering in individuals.

One common element in most definitions is that values constitute criteria or standards for evaluation of human behavior and its outcomes, which criteria may be applied projectively to intended behavior, retrospectively to past behavior, or even hypothetically to possible behavior and its outcomes. In relation to behaviors, values may be seen as shorthand for numerous overlapping, presumably cognitively linked, evaluative features of diverse social behaviors and structures. On the other hand, values as criteria may also be conceded an existence as the verbalizations people make (aloud or in the form of inner speech) in relation to their actions, independent of the overt behaviors themselves. This distinction between values as inherent in behavior and behavioral outcomes and values as verbalizations parallels the object-person distinction. It is convenient not to stress the distinction, however, but to conceive of values as inhering in the person-in-a-situation, the situation including definable objects rather than in person or in

object alone. Thus in speaking of child values one may think of either the parent with values evoked by consideration of children, or the child with values projected upon it by parents, but not of the value as inhering in either child or parent alone. Similarly it is convenient to assume a dynamic interaction between the desirable and the desired, held apart both by social pressure and human perversity, but with a tendency on both sides to equilibration. If one avoids drawing a line between the desired and the desirable, specific analysis may show whether they are phenomenologically distinct or whether no ground for debate actually exists, at least concerning child values.

A common distinction made between attitudes and values assumes that values are higher-order attitudes tied to broader classes of objects or are even object-free (Rokeach, 1974). A more useful distinction is to see a value as one element of an attitude, the other element being the perceived instrumental relation between the object of the attitude and the value (McGuire, 1969). It is understood that an attitude may be the weighted sum of a number of instrumentality-value relations, and, contrariwise, that a value may enter into any number of attitudes.[2] Thus child values would be the things for which children are considered valuable or reinforcing, and together with the instrumental link between the value and children in general or in particular would determine attitudes.

Perhaps the most important issue in specifying values is how to identify different categories of values. One approach is to start with the person, and with some conception of categories of personal psychological or psychophysical needs or motives, and to equate these with values (e.g., R.K. White, 1951; French and Kahn, 1962; Maslow, 1962). As Rokeach (1974) points out, this approach implies that the laboratory rat has values because it also has needs. There are also problems with defining psychological needs or motives cross-culturally, and with the assumption that values exist apart from some object rather than being evoked in the person-object dialectic.

A second approach is to categorize different systems of behavior or behavioral outcomes, which may be reduced to categorizing styles of life or "ways to live" (Morris, 1956), diverse institutional areas or interests around which roles can be built (Vernon and Allport, 1931; Spranger, 1928), or different personal or social states—such as inner harmony, true friendship, or a world of beauty (Rokeach, 1974)—that

2 Various instrumentality-value or expectancy-value models have been proposed. See, for example, Heider (1958), Savage (1954), Tolman (1951), Abelson and Rosenberg (1958), and Atkinson and Feather (1966).

can be produced through human behavior. Somewhat related is the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) categorization of assumptions underlying behavior regarding the nature of the world and man's place in it, which scheme sometimes is stretched into a traditional-modern continuum. This approach is suggestive of some of the distinctions among child values that will be made later, such as those between economic, social, and emotional values attached to children or between essentially traditional and essentially modern value systems.

The major approach used in this study, however, focuses neither on the person and his needs nor on classes of behavior and outcomes but on the verbalizations of the person relative to the object. It is assumed that verbalizations reflect not only the underlying values but also the structure of the situation in which the verbalizations are produced. It is expected that these verbalizations can be studied at their own level, categorized and analyzed all together, and a meaningful picture of child values will emerge. This approach is primarily exploratory, involving the discernment of structure rather than the imposition of structure upon the ways people speak of children.

Some previous studies

Two major studies have attempted to relate psychological factors to childbearing among American couples. The Indianapolis study, conducted in 1941 with 1,444 white Protestant couples (Whelpton and Kiser, 1946–58), covered such personality characteristics as feelings of personal inadequacy, fear of pregnancy, tendency to plan, adherence to tradition, and conformity to group patterns. The Princeton study, begun in 1957 with 1,165 white women and longitudinal in design, so that 78 percent were interviewed three years later and 70 percent were interviewed a third time six to ten years afterward (Westoff, Potter, Sagi, and Mishler, 1961; Westoff, Potter, and Sagi, 1963; Bumpass and Westoff, 1969), included as personality variables generalized manifest anxiety, nurturance needs, ability to delay gratification of impulses, self-awareness, compulsiveness, ambiguity tolerance, cooperativeness, and need achievement.

Neither the Indianapolis study nor the Princeton study could establish meaningful relations between the psychological dimensions that were measured and indices of fertility. Without denying their other virtues, one could fault both studies for their focus on personality, for treating needs and motives in isolation from situational variables.[3] The

3 This criticism has been made by Hoffman and Hoffman (1973:39–41).

approach taken here, in contrast, is to see values emerging from the relation between person and situation, rather than out of personal needs and motives alone. Despite the general importance of the Indianapolis and Princeton studies, therefore, their negative findings as far as psychological variables are concerned may be merely the result of inadequate conceptualization.

Few other studies of what we call the value of children have been as ambitious with respect to the number of variables studied, the size of the samples, and particularly the concern with prediction from values to family-size or family planning indices. Three attempts to summarize the literature from somewhat different perspectives (Pohlman, 1969; Fawcett, 1970; Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973) cover a large number of studies directed to other objectives that tangentially provide information on values attached to children. Thus ethnological studies, particularly those on the life cycle or on child development, often contain insights on how parents value children (e.g., Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957). Similarly, large-scale surveys on mental health and personal satisfactions inevitably include some data on the happiness children provide (e.g., Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, 1960). Somewhat more focused are psychoanalytic studies of childbearing (e.g., Wyatt, 1967) and ethological studies of sympathetic adult reactions to "babyishness" in a stimulus object (e.g., Hess, 1970).

An assortment of relevant questions has been used in some family-planning knowledge, attitudes, and practice (KAP) studies in developing countries, often pointing to the utilitarian reasons for having children. Mueller (1972) has focused on economic motivations in Taiwan and demonstrated that perceptions of the costs of children do affect family-size desires. Within the last decade a variety of attitude-measurement techniques has been applied to the value of children, such as sentence completions (Rabin, 1965; Rabin and Greene, 1968), Likert scales (Stolka and Barnett, 1969), and projective storytelling techniques (Meade, 1971). Cognitive balance models for attitude structure and attitude change are also beginning to be applied (Insko, Blake, Cialdini, and Mulaik, 1970; Crawford, Stocker, and Heredia, 1968; Jaccard and Davidson, 1972). Terhune (1973) has taken this approach several steps further, by attempting to define utility functions for particular values across different family sizes for his American subjects. Undertaken from a less tight theoretical perspective, but also of considerable provocativeness, are the intensive interviews used by Rainwater (1960, 1965) in portraying the elements of family design.

From these studies an extensive catalogue of values at several dif-

ferent levels of conceptualization and specific to different cultures and settings could be abstracted (e.g., Pohlman, 1969; Bogue, 1967; Berelson, 1973). Beyond a simple inventory, Hoffman and Hoffman (1973: 46–47) have tried to provide a systematic framework for studying the value of children, using nine general categories:

1. Adult status and social identity
2. Expansion of the self, tie to a larger entity, "immortality"
3. Morality: religion, altruism, good of the group; norms regarding sexuality, impulsivity, virtue
4. Primary group ties, affiliation
5. Stimulation, novelty, fun
6. Creativity, accomplishment, competence
7. Power, influence, effectance
8. Social comparison, competition
9. Economic utility.

This list covers many of the important values, though biologically based motives are expressly excluded. Several categories appear to reflect dimensions of personality needs, whereas others, such as "adult status," are more situationally defined.

Which of these values are significant in the Philippines has not been systematically determined. Several essays suggest particular values worth investigation. From his work on childrearing in the Philippines, Guthrie (1968) extracts several values: children as a sign of God's blessing; a source of pleasure to parents, siblings, and older relatives; a necessity to complete the atmosphere of a home; the basis for a mystical feeling of continuity between generations; and a source of security in old age. Thus one's children are one's wealth, and, Guthrie argues further, neither urban residence nor education leads to substantial diminishment of their value in the Philippines. Madigan provides another partial list of reasons for having large families from the "common man's" (rather than woman's) point of view:

> . . . the devotion and material contributions [that] his children will give him in later life; the intergenerational respect of Filipino children for parents that will make him more powerful and influential in later life; the proof of his virility attested by the large number of his children; the actualization of his sexual potency through having many children in order that nothing may be "wasted" (1967:138).

Madigan, however, is more optimistic about value change, contending that, although birth rates remain high, the attitudes and traditional norms supporting them are losing their appeal because of economic costs. Castillo (1970) quotes a father of ten in pointing out an important additional value: that children in a large family learn to get

along with all sorts of people. She also observes that when Filipinos speak of God's will in having children they refer not to the "Pope's God but to a more general concept of the supernatural. In other words *Nature* controls man rather than man controls nature" (1970:13).

Empirical data on these values are scanty. A few ethnographic studies support the importance of economic and religious values (e.g., Jocano, 1969). On the basis of continuing fieldwork in the Laguna de Bay area, Concepción and Jocano report that couples with one or two children are often teased and are generally considered "sterile, weak, or simply stingy and 'what a pity for the child—no playmates' " (1973: 20). The KAP studies that have been done in the Philippines seldom provide direct data on the value of children, though they do suggest attitudes toward birth control. A few child values nevertheless commonly emerge, particularly children's contribution to family income and the value of child labor, the happiness children bring to a family, and the acceptance of children as the will of God. The most commonly mentioned disvalues are the financial costs of children and of their education, and deleterious effects on the mother's health (Feliciano, 1974; see also A.J. Harman, 1970).

An organizing perspective for the study of the effects of the value of children on fertility may be derived from the theory of the demographic transition. Changes in the value of children are among the factors assumed to underlie the fertility decline that is part of the transition. According to demographic transition theory, in premodern societies, a number of demographic and social structural characteristics support the desire for large families. Among these are the brevity and the precariousness of life, especially the high frequency of infant losses,[4] and the centrality of the kin group and kinship ties in the social structure and the resultant status attached to large families. The societal need for high fertility leads to the institutionalization of cultural norms and values supporting large families, providing rewards for parents, and to some extent distributing the burdens of childrearing. Countervailing forces always exist to keep fertility below the maximum possible, such as the need for female labor or dowry requirements. Nevertheless, the dominance of kinship in relation to other social institutions strongly favors the attachment of many positive

4 The connection being posited is between infant mortality rates and large families at the cultural rather than the individual level. There may not in fact be any strong connection between a couple's losing a baby and having a larger family in the Philippines (Bacon, 1971).

values to large families (Davis, 1955; Freedman, 1961–62). With industrialization or modernization, other institutions become differentiated structurally from the family, economic rewards increase and aspirations rise, and such general values as secularism, individualism, and rationalism gain greater currency. The social pressures for a large family and the values individuals attach to it consequently decline in prominence (Goldscheider, 1971; Fawcett and Bornstein, 1973).

In what may be considered a particular specification of the value changes related to fertility decline in the demographic transition, several economists have attempted to apply the economic calculus to the study of individual fertility. The basic argument in these studies is that "the cost of children increases with the rise in price of human time" that is normally associated with economic development (Schultz, 1973:52). Children are viewed as forms of human capital (most importantly the poor man's capital), and investment in children is contrasted with other investments drawing upon the parents' time.

Basic approaches

In the present study values are considered, more broadly than in the economic sense, to cover any criterion for the evaluation of human behavior or its outcomes. The study draws on the results of a social survey seeking measures of the major values of children described in this diverse literature. A survey can provide data on the importance of particular values to different social groups, as well as measures capable of some degree of cross-cultural standardization.

The general approach is exploratory, the purpose being to describe values without imposing any particular structure on parents' experiences with children. Thus no *a priori* assumptions are made about personality structure, nor about basic dimensions of cultural themes or values. While values can be extracted from most of these studies, the Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) paper represents one of the few attempts to provide a systematic and theoretical, rather than empirical, framework for speaking of values. What values are empirically distinguishable, how different values cluster, how values relate to each other, are all questions best answered within a systematic framework, and the search for such a framework and for the values prominent within it is the first objective of this study.

Open-ended questionnaire items can be prepared with a minimum of preconceptions, but structured items require some previous understanding of or at least some intuitions about the domain to be studied. The Hoffman and Hoffman scheme was used as the original starting

point, but a different structure soon emerged through pilot studies (Fawcett, Albores, and Arnold, 1972). In this sense the structure of values to be discussed is relatively independent of theoretical preconceptions.

The second objective of the study is to investigate the relation of the value of children to desired numbers of children and to family planning indices. While a number of hypotheses about such relations could be abstracted from the studies mentioned above, the diverse levels of conceptualization, difficulties of specification, and multiplicity of qualifications necessary suggest that an exploratory approach may again be best, allowing the structure of relations to emerge from the data rather than testing some predetermined structure against the data.

Several preliminary models were devised, not to define hypotheses but to identify relevant variables. Basically, these models included, besides values and fertility desires and behavior, a set of social background variables and various situational variables relating to opportunity costs, alternatives to children, decision-mindedness, pressures from family and friends, and similar factors. These models were essentially checklists and are not of substantive importance.

The study was designed as a cross-national survey covering five East or Southeast Asian countries—South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, and the Philippines—and Hawaii. Such aspects of research design as the questionnaire, the sampling scheme, field procedures, and analytical plans were devised collaboratively with researchers from each country, though allowances were made for different cultural conditions and particular research capabilities and interests. This report covers only the Philippine data, but it should be understood that the methodology described here has many elements in common with the methodology used in the other studies, as well as some elements specific to the Philippine study.

Method

Data were obtained from 389 young married parents from Greater Manila and Bulacan interviewed between December 1972 and January 1973. In most cases both husband and wife were interviewed.

The questionnaire[5] incorporated several alternate measures of the values attached to children. A Likert format was used for a set of 45 attitude items on various positive functions of children (such as

5 The English version is presented in an appendix of Arnold et al. (1975).

family solidarity, love, and social status), on the costs of children, and on the propensity to consider alternatives to children. Two open-ended questions attempted to tap the advantages and disadvantages of having children, as opposed to not having any. A set of 26 items covered motives for having or not having another child, which respondents were asked to rate in degree of importance to themselves. Various other questions referred to reasons for wanting sons or daughters, reasons why most people want children, reasons for choosing some desired number of children rather than more or fewer, advantages to children of coming from large or small families, expected economic contributions from children, and estimates of the costs of childrearing. Each question provided a different perspective from which respondents could comment on the value of children.

Other major topics covered in the questionnaire were family size, family-size desires, and family planning practice. Respondents were asked about the number of children they had, children's dates of birth, and any previous miscarriages, abortions, or stillbirths. They were also asked about the number of children they would consider ideal if they were starting their families again, their ideal number of sons and daughters and the sequence desired, the number of additional children they wanted at present, and their definitions of small and large families. Regarding family planning, they reported on current, previous, and intended future practice of contraception, on their knowledge about different contraceptive methods, and on their attitudes toward contraception and abortion.

The questionnaire included various social and demographic classifiers, such as age, education, and wife's employment history. Related to these were a few questions on family communication and decision-making. Finally, some indices of general value orientations not specifically related to children were included, principally attitudinal modernity, religiosity, and personal efficacy.

The questionnaire was developed in English, translated into the appropriate language, and pretested separately in each country. On the basis of the pretests it was revised and a final version was produced in English. A few questions were added in each country to the final version. In the Philippines, the most important addition was a set of efficacy items. The questionnaire was translated into Tagalog and back-translated as a check.

Interviews were conducted by about two dozen students, mostly undergraduates, from the University of the Philippines. The students were chosen from a larger group who went through three days of

training in the use of the questionnaire. Two interviewers were assigned to each interview site, and one supervisor was employed for every two sites. The supervisors were all social science graduates affiliated with the Social Research Laboratory at the University of the Philippines.

The sample was designed to compare three groups: the urban middle class, the urban lower class, and rural residents. The original intention was to interview 60 couples in each group. For the urban sample, districts or barrios in the Greater Manila area (for this purpose defined to include Manila, Caloocan, Quezon City, Mandaluyong, San Juan, Makati, Pasay City, and Parañaque) were listed and rated for socioeconomic status. The basis for the ratings varied: in some cases it was tax records; in others, available survey data on household incomes; in still others, judgments made by local government officials or others familiar with the areas. The highest ranking areas covering 20 percent of the population were excluded, and five precincts were drawn randomly from the middle 40 percent and the lowest 40 percent (Table 1.1).

The urban sample areas ranged from those including small but neat and fenced-in single-family dwellings, to areas including blocks of new and cheaply constructed two-story apartment buildings, to slum areas characterized by congestion, ramshackle dwellings, and inadequate or absent sanitary facilities. Except for the slum areas, sample areas were generally not homogenous. Subsequent data checks indicated a considerable overlap in household incomes between supposedly middle-class and supposedly lower-class areas. For all the analyses to be reported, therefore, the residential criterion was set aside and an income criterion, taking into account both the husband's and the wife's estimate, was used instead to define the urban middle class (total monthly income of ₱400 and above)[6] and the urban lower class (below ₱400).

The rural sample was drawn from two barrios each of the municipalities of Paombong and Hagonoy, Bulacan, 47 kms. and 52 kms. from Manila, respectively. Rice farming was important in these barrios. Other economic activities included vegetable farming, fishing, and the cultivation of Bermuda grass. One barrio, closer to the road, was more developed than the others, having some concrete houses and electricity, and some male residents who were wage earners in Manila.

In each sample area, a screening operation was necessary to locate

6 The Philippine currency unit is the peso (₱). In 1972 one U.S. dollar was equivalent to ₱3.90 at the official exchange rate and to roughly ₱6.78 at the free rate.

Table 1.1 Sample areas

Area	Number of respondents		
	Female	Male	Total
Urban			
Salapan (Baluing-bato), San Juan	14	13	27
Labores, Pandacan, Manila	9	9	18
Quirino, Quezon City	13	12	25
San Miguel, Manila	14	12	26
San Lazaro, Manila	12	12	24
Ilang-ilang, Pandacan, Manila	18	17	35
Maypajo, Caloocan	13	12	25
Sta. Ana, Manila	14	13	27
Sta. Lucia (Onse), San Juan	18	14	32
Tondo, Manila	12	11	23
Total urban	137	125	262
Rural			
Hagonoy, Bulacan	34	29	63
Paombong, Bulacan	31	33	64
Total rural	65	62	127

eligible couples. Criteria for eligibility required not only that respondents have at least one child, but also that the wife be under age 35 and the husband under age 45. Practically all the households in the sample areas had to be screened to provide enough respondents. Since both husband and wife had to be interviewed, the absence or refusal of either spouse meant the exclusion of the couple. Some of the couples contacted could not be interviewed because the husband had to work during evenings and weekends. Although a particular effort was made to interview eligible respondents who were employed, there may be some bias in the sample in favor of unemployed or underemployed men and women. Husband and wife were always interviewed separately, sometimes simultaneously by different interviewers and sometimes on different occasions. In the latter case the spouse interviewed first was asked not to discuss the session until the other spouse had been interviewed.

Interviews took at least 40 minutes and at most three hours to complete, with the median being about an hour and a quarter. Many

respondents displayed an interest in the interview and enthusiasm in answering questions about children. The length of the interviews caused some difficulty, particularly toward the latter part of the questionnaire, which, however, contained relatively simple and factual questions on social background. About a third of the urban interviews had to be conducted in two parts, but all the rural interviews were finished at one sitting. The timing of each interview may have affected its quality. Persons interviewed on weekends, when they were rested and had no appointments to keep, seem to have paid more attention and answered questions with greater care than those interviewed after a day at work or in between household chores. The latter were understandably less patient and more mechanical in their answers, particularly in response to attitude statements.

Field supervisors edited completed questionnaires and interviewers made some return calls for important missing data. In collaboration with the other investigators, the Philippine survey staff developed category systems for open-ended questions after examining most of the responses. Extensive consistency checks were run after the data were coded and punched.

Apart from descriptive statistics and tabulations, the analyses performed on the data were mostly exploratory multivariate procedures (Cooley and Lohnes, 1971). The multiple measures included had to be compared and contrasted and in some cases reduced to a smaller number or to composite indices before it was possible to develop causal models involving values and behavioral intentions. An alternate procedure would have been to develop "auxiliary theories" involving the relation between abstract variables and multiple indicators (Costner, 1969), but it was not felt that enough was known about child values ahead of time to formulate specific hypotheses, much less such auxiliary theories. In addition, the limited size of the sample would not support the testing of all the auxiliary theories necessary for all the values and other variables that were conceptualized. Therefore various multivariate procedures were applied in an exploratory manner, with less attention paid to levels of significance and more to the size of relationships. This basic exploratory approach suggested the maximum use of available data, rather than the exclusion of cases for any deficiencies. Thus some persons who during the interviews were found to be a couple of years over the desired age were left in the sample, as well as some others whose spouses could not be interviewed. Similarly, where some data were missing for a respondent, available data for that respondent were retained in the analysis.

An important characteristic of the analysis is that respondents were treated individually rather than as couples. It was felt that such simplification would be tactically advantageous for purposes of this report. Analysis of couples was performed subsequently and will be reported separately. Since in most of the tables of the current report male and female responses are compared, some differences between husbands and wives may be inferred from the available data.

Sample characteristics

An overview of the different subgroups in the sample is provided by Tables 1.2 and 1.3. In these and later tables, three socioeconomic subgroups roughly equal in size are distinguished—urban middle class, urban lower class, and rural; the sample is also divided into male and female subgroups. Men were slightly older than women, 56 percent of whom were under 30, compared with 33 percent of the men. The socioeconomic subgroups were fairly similar in age distribution. Differences in education are marked: 82 percent of the urban middle-class respondents had completed high school, as opposed to 54 percent of urban lower-class respondents and only 26 percent of rural respondents. Men had slightly more education than women (59 percent of men had completed high school, as against 48 percent of women). Total household income similarly distinguishes the socioeconomic groups. Median monthly income ranged from ₱650 to ₱310 to ₱270 across the three groups. Most respondents claimed to be Roman Catholic.

Mean parities in the three groups were 3.4 for the urban middle class, 2.9 for the urban lower class, and 3.3 for rural respondents. Thirteen percent of the urban respondents or respondents' wives were pregnant, compared with only 5 percent of the rural respondents. About one in four respondents or respondents' wives had experienced a miscarriage, stillbirth, or abortion. About a third of the respondents had been married less than five years, another third between five and nine years, and the last third ten years or more. Rural respondents had been married slightly longer, on the average, than the other two socioeconomic groups. Median age at first marriage was between 21 and 23 for all three groups but for men was about four years later than for women. Four percent of the respondents had married more than once.

Structure of the report

Chapter 2 describes the child values and disvalues elicited from respondents by the variety of questions used. An attempt is made to organize the answers produced in some coherent fashion and to delineate an

Table 1.2 Social and economic characteristics of respondents
(Percentage of respondents, by subgroup)

Characteristic	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Total sample[a]
Age						
19–24	9	20	14	20	8	14
25–29	33	33	25	36	25	30
30–34	42	33	40	42	35	38
35–39	11	9	12	2	19	11
40–47	5	6	9	0	13	7
Total[b]	100	101	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(125)	(200)	(187)	(387)
Educational attainment						
Some elementary (0–5 years)	2	10	30	14	13	14
Elementary completed (6 years)	10	14	33	24	13	19
Some high school (7–9 years)	7	22	12	13	14	13
High school completed (10 years)	10	12	8	9	10	10
Some college (11–13 years)	13	24	10	12	19	16
College completed (14 years)	19	8	2	9	10	10
Beyond college (15–16 years)	40	10	6	18	20	19
Total[b]	101	100	101	99	99	101
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(127)	(202)	(187)	(389)
Household income per month, in pesos[c]						
0– 99	0	0	7	3	1	2
100– 199	0	6	26	11	10	10
200– 299	1	40	25	20	23	22
300– 399	4	39	16	21	17	19
400– 499	17	10	15	13	16	14
500– 599	23	2	3	9	11	10
600– 699	10	0	6	5	6	5
700– 799	4	2	2	4	2	3
800– 899	9	2	0	5	2	4
900– 999	9	0	0	1	5	3

Table 1.2 *(continued)*

Characteristic	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Total sample[a]
Household income per month, in pesos[c] *(continued)*						
1,000–1,999	22	0	0	8	7	8
2,000 and over	2	1	0	1	0	1
Total[b]	101	102	100	101	100	101
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(122)	(198)	(186)	(384)
Religion						
Roman Catholic	95	91	99	94	96	95
Other	5	9	1	6	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(127)	(202)	(187)	(389)

a Number of respondents varies because of nonresponse.

b Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

c One Philippine peso = US$0.15.

underlying structure in the values and disvalues suggested by the majority of responses.

Chapter 3 examines questions of value differences between individuals, essentially by interpreting correlations between value indices and social characteristics of individuals. Chapter 4 deals with economic or financial values associated with children. Because of the prominence of economic considerations in some writings, and because some special questions were devoted to economic benefits and costs, these values and disvalues are considered separately, though the discussion does overlap at points with the general discussion of child values.

Chapters 2 to 4, which are essentially descriptive, focus on the study's first objective of developing a theoretical framework for the value of children. Chapters 5 and 6 are essentially predictive, in line with the second objective. Chapter 5 considers how and to what degree child values and disvalues affect family-size desires, and Chapter 6 considers their effect on several family planning indices. The various dependent variables are first discussed and compared; then linear regressions involving values as independent variables are reported, as well as some other analyses. Chapter 7 summarizes the findings, draws a few comparisons with other countries, and suggests possible implications for population policy.

Table 1.3 Demographic characteristics of respondents
(Percentage of respondents, by subgroup)

Characteristic	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Total sample[a]
Parity						
1	18	30	19	22	22	22
2	19	20	19	20	19	19
3	24	16	25	21	22	22
4	21	14	13	16	15	16
5	8	11	9	10	9	9
6	5	5	3	4	4	4
7	5	3	10	6	6	6
8 or more	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total[b]	102	101	100	101	99	100
(Number of respondents)	(131)	(127)	(127)	(200)	(185)	(385)
Wife currently pregnant						
Yes	13	14	5	11	11	11
No	87	86	95	89	89	89
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(134)	(121)	(126)	(199)	(182)	(381)
Pregnancy loss[c]						
Yes	21	28	22	23	24	24
No	79	72	78	77	76	76
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(123)	(126)	(202)	(182)	(384)
Marital duration, in years						
0–4	40	39	30	35	38	36
5–9	30	33	35	34	31	33
10–14	22	24	26	24	24	24
15–21	8	4	10	7	8	7
Total[b]	100	100	101	100	101	100
(Number of respondents)	(131)	(125)	(124)	(197)	(183)	(380)
Age at first marriage						
13–15	3	2	3	5	1	3
16–19	19	30	21	36	9	23
20–24	40	41	45	43	41	42
25–29	28	20	22	15	32	24
30–38	10	7	8	1	17	9
Total[b]	100	100	99	100	100	101
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(126)	(201)	(187)	(388)
Remarried						
Yes	4	2	7	5	3	4
No	96	98	93	95	97	96
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(134)	(127)	(127)	(202)	(186)	(388)

a Number of respondents varies because of nonresponse.

b Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

c Includes 39 wives who had had at least one miscarriage, 11 who had had at least one stillbirth, and three who had had at least one abortion.

2

values and disvalues of having children

Values and disvalues that young married couples attach to having children were determined from two basic types of question: open-ended questions, which allowed the respondents to conceptualize and express these values in their own language, and structured questionnaire items expressing particular values or disvalues, with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree. The first type of question usually elicits a greater variety of responses and is more "natural" in the sense that respondents bring their own frame of reference to each question. On the other hand, answers to open-ended questions are more difficult to compare than responses to structured items, which are more specific and do not admit rambling or elusive answers. (See Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike, 1973, for a discussion of these two types of questions in cross-cultural research.)

In discussing the values and disvalues attached to children, we shall consider: (1) answers respondents gave to the open-ended questions about the general advantages and disadvantages of children; (2) their answers to open-ended questions about sons and daughters specifically; (3) levels of agreement and disagreement among respondents on structured attitude items expressing different values of children; (4) the factor structure of these items; (5) parity-specific motivations for childbearing, determined through both open-ended and structured questions; and (6) how answers to these different questions match or fail to match. Throughout this chapter we shall be discussing values and

disvalues simultaneously or occasionally in sequence. We shall also make some comparisons between male and female respondents, and between the three socioeconomic groups.

Advantages and disadvantages of children

Respondents were asked about the advantages or "good things" connected with having children, as compared with not having any children at all. With sufficient nondirective prodding, most respondents were able to mention three or four advantages. Advantages mentioned by Filipino respondents were examined in conjunction with responses given in the other countries involved in the project. On the basis of pretests and final interviews, 49 separate categories of response were distinguished, under nine general headings (see Appendix A for coding scheme, Table 2.1 for frequencies). The most frequently mentioned advantage of children had to do with economic benefits and the economic security that children bring; 42 percent of all responses in the Philippine sample fell under this general heading. Responses classified under the heading of "happiness, love, companionship" were second in frequency, at 30 percent. General advantages having to do with benefits to the family and the kin group (excluding economic benefits)

Table 2.1 General advantages of having children
(Percentage of all responses coded under each general advantage category)

Advantage and code	Percentage
Economic benefits, security *(Econ)*	42
Happiness, love, companionship *(Hap)*	30
Personal development *(Per)*	9
Beneficial effects of childrearing *(Rear)*	6
Benefits to family unit *(Fam)*	6
Kin group benefits *(Kin)*	3
Intrinsic value of children, general advantages *(Gen)*	2
Social, religious advantages *(Soc)*	2
Other advantages *(Oth)*	0
All advantages	100
(Number)	(1,340)

NOTE: Each respondent was encouraged to mention up to six advantages. Because some respondents mentioned compound advantages, up to eight were scored.

and with social and religious influences had relatively few responses classed under them. Whether because they actually think in individualistic terms or because of the phrasing of the question, most respondents tended to mention advantages that having children brought to them personally rather than advantages that children would have for other reference groups. This does not necessarily indicate that group pressure was unimportant: it may be that group demands were so internalized as to become identical with individual interests. Although the rhetoric of justification for childbearing may conceal collectivistic motivations, it is nevertheless predominantly individualistic.

When the general categories are broken down into specific categories, economic benefits (which are not, however, all strictly financial) and happiness, love, companionship remain the most important. Table 2.2 gives the percentages of respondents mentioning each specific category as well as the answers to a related question, "Of the good things and advantages that you mentioned, which would you say is most important to you personally?" The specific advantage mentioned most frequently (by 41 percent of all respondents) is help with housework and family chores, which includes such responses as "Having children gives you someone to watch and care for the home," "You have someone to run errands," "You have someone to look after the house when the parents are away or sick," "Someone to help in cleaning and cooking." The category "happiness for individual parent" ranked second in frequency of mention (36 percent): children were seen as making their parents happy, as being for them a primary source of happiness in life. These responses were distinguished from others emphasizing the happiness that children bring to a family or home rather than to the individual parent. The third most frequently mentioned advantage (33 percent) had to do with general help in old age, neither specifically economic help nor specifically companionship and comfort, but possibly some combination of both. (If responses specified economic help or companionship and comfort, they were classified elsewhere.) About a fourth of the respondents mentioned that children bring happiness to a family and brighten up a home. About a fifth mentioned the financial contribution children can make to a family even before the parents grow old.

Among subgroups, female and rural respondents were more likely than others to mention household help (Table 2.3). Urban respondents tended to cite happiness, for the parent or for the family, whereas rural respondents were more likely to mention general economic help. Among the less frequently mentioned advantages of children, incen-

Table 2.2 Specific advantages of having children, ranked by frequency of mention and respondents' judgment of importance

Advantage	Mentioned[a]		Judged most important		Judged second in importance	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Help in housework, family chores *(Econ)*	41	*1*	6	*7*	16	*1*
Happiness for individual parent *(Hap)*	36	*2*	12	*2*	10	*2*
General help in old age *(Econ)*	33	*3*	17	*1*	8	*3*
Happiness for family *(Hap)*	24	*4*	10	*4*	7	*5*
Economic help (old age not mentioned) *(Econ)*	21	*5*	6	*6*	8	*4*
Companionship, comfort, care in old age *(Econ)*	21	*6*	10	*3*	6	*7*
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom *(Hap)*	18	*7*	3	*9*	5	*8*
Incentives to succeed *(Per)*	18	*8*	7	*5*	4	*9*
Bond between spouses *(Fam)*	15	*9.5*	5	*8*	3	
General help, not specifically economic *(Econ)*	15	*9.5*	3	*10*	6	*6*
Relief from strain, distraction from problems *(Hap)*	10	*11*	1		3	
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness *(Hap)*	10	*12*	1		2	
Pride in children's accomplishments *(Rear)*	8	*13*	2		4	*10*
Continuity of family name *(Kin)*	6	*14.5*	1		2	
Character development, responsibility, maturity, morality *(Per)*	6	*14.5*	1		2	
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned) *(Econ)*	6	*16*	1		2	

Table 2.2 *(continued)*

Advantage	Mentioned		Judged most important		Judged second in importance	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Pleasure from growth, development of children *(Rear)*	6	*17*	1		2	
Children as treasure, wealth, assets *(Gen)*	5	*18*	1		1	
All other advantages	na	na	41		10	
Total[a]	na		99		101	
(Number of respondents)	(389)		(389)		(368)	
(No response)	(0)		(0)		(21)	

NOTE: All specific advantages mentioned by at least 5 percent of respondents are included. General advantage codes are shown in italics. Only ten advantages are ranked by importance.

na = not applicable.

a Percentages do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

tives to succeed and a bond between husband and wife received greater mention by urban and particularly urban middle-class respondents than by others.

Respondents were asked, of all the advantages they had named, which was the most important (Table 2.4). Assistance in old age and the happiness children bring received the most votes (approximately 29 percent for the three categories of old-age assistance, 22 percent for the two categories of happiness). The category "incentives to succeed" (which included inspiring parents to strive, giving them a goal, inspiring them to plan for the future) was chosen most important by 7 percent, ranking fifth in importance even though it ranked only eighth in number of mentions. Help in housework, though frequently mentioned, ranked only seventh in importance. Differences between subgroups on importance ratings are parallel to the differences previously observed for frequency of mention: rural respondents placed more importance on housework and old-age assistance, urban respondents on happiness.

The importance of old-age assistance as a value attached to children was confirmed by answers to another question concerning the sources

Table 2.3 Specific advantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified advantages, by subgroup)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Help in housework, family chores *(Econ)*	36	39	48	46	35	41
Happiness for individual parent *(Hap)*	38	37	32	34	37	36
General help in old age *(Econ)*	33	34	35	37	31	33
Happiness for family *(Hap)*	33	20	20	26	22	24
Economic help (old age not mentioned) *(Econ)*	15	22	27	21	21	21
Companionship, comfort, care in old age *(Econ)*	19	20	23	17	25	21
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom *(Hap)*	13	25	17	18	19	18
Incentives to succeed *(Per)*	24	17	13	18	18	18
Bond between spouses *(Fam)*	20	15	9	17	12	15
General help, not specifically economic *(Econ)*	13	15	17	20	9	15
Relief from strain, distraction from problems *(Hap)*	13	13	6	10	12	11
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness *(Hap)*	10	8	12	11	9	10
Pride in children's accomplishments *(Rear)*	4	11	7	4	11	8
Continuity of family name *(Kin)*	4	10	5	5	8	6
Character development, responsibility, maturity, morality *(Per)*	12	5	2	4	8	6
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned) *(Econ)*	7	6	5	6	6	6
Pleasure from growth, development of children *(Rear)*	7	6	5	6	5	6
Children as treasure, wealth, assets *(Gen)*	6	5	3	5	4	5

NOTE: General advantage codes are shown in italics.

Table 2.4 Most important advantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who ranked specified advantages first in importance, by subgroup)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Help in housework, family chores *(Econ)*	2	6	9	7	4	6
Happiness for individual parent *(Hap)*	16	10	9	12	12	12
General help in old age *(Econ)*	13	18	20	19	15	17
Happiness for family *(Hap)*	12	9	9	10	9	10
Economic help (old age not mentioned) *(Econ)*	4	6	9	7	5	6
Companionship, comfort, care in old age *(Econ)*	7	8	16	7	14	10
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom *(Hap)*	2	6	3	3	4	3
Incentives to succeed *(Per)*	9	7	5	6	8	7
Bond between spouses *(Fam)*	8	6	1	5	5	5
All other advantages	27	25	19	24	24	24
Total[a]	100	101	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(126)	(127)	(202)	(187)	(389)
(No response)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)

NOTE: General advantage codes are shown in italics.

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

of financial support that respondents and their spouses expected to rely on in their old age. Sixty-two percent spontaneously mentioned children as a source of support: 24 percent expected to rely a good deal on children, 28 percent expected to rely only a little on children, and 10 percent expected to depend on children but were uncertain how much. When those who did not mention children were asked directly what degree of dependence they expected to have, the number who expected to rely a good deal on children increased slightly, to 27 percent of the entire sample—which is quite close to the number

Table 2.5 Expected reliance on economic assistance from children in old age
(Percentage of respondents, by subgroup)

Degree of reliance	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Would rely on children						
A good deal	15	17	50	27	27	27
To uncertain degree	10	15	3	8	11	10
Only a little	46	53	36	48	41	45
Depends on circumstances	7	4	6	7	5	6
Would not rely on children	21	11	5	10	16	12
Total[a]	99	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(134)	(127)	(125)	(200)	(186)	(386)
(No response)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(3)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

who considered old-age assistance the most important advantage of children. Those who expected to rely only a little on children increased considerably, to 45 percent, and only 12 percent insisted they would not rely on children at all (Table 2.5).

Most respondents considered children to be quite willing to provide old-age assistance. Forty-one percent said they thought children were in fact more willing nowadays than children had been when they themselves were growing up to support parents in their old age; 32 percent said children were just as willing as the previous generation, and half of the remainder said it would depend on specific conditions.

In answer to another open-ended question, respondents cited the difficulties or disadvantages connected with having children. Slightly fewer disadvantages than advantages were mentioned (3.0 per respondent on the average, compared with 3.7), and 7 percent of the respondents could not think of any disadvantage. Disadvantages were coded into 25 categories under eight separate headings (see Appendix A). Most frequently mentioned among the disadvantages were emotional difficulties, which accounted for half of all responses (Table 2.6). Financial problems were second, representing another fourth of all responses.

Among specific disadvantage categories (Table 2.7), the most frequently mentioned (by 46 percent) was general financial costs. Many respondents complained of the costs of childrearing, saying the cost

of living nowadays is high, that parents encounter financial problems during pregnancy or childrearing, or that it is hard to rear children when one is jobless and has no money. A large number of respondents (41 percent) mentioned problems of discipline: worry about the proper upbringing of children, anxiety that the children might misbehave and bring discredit on their parents, troubles with quarreling among children, or worry that a child may inherit "bad blood" in the family. Anxieties connected with children's health were mentioned by 28 percent. Some respondents said they felt emotional strain or had more work to do when a child was ill, or believed children's illness interfered with the mother's job, or worried that their babies might be abnormal, or were concerned about the safety of their children, especially when the children stayed out late. Next in frequency was the cost of sending children to school, mentioned by 22 percent of respondents. The restrictions that children impose on parents' freedom received less mention, though 10 percent of respondents cited restrictions on their jobs or careers. Overpopulation as a consequence and disadvantage of having children was mentioned exactly once.

Ranking of the disadvantages by importance is quite similar to the ranking by frequency of mention, with 67 percent of all respondents choosing either financial problems, disciplinary problems, health problems, or cost of education as the most important.

Table 2.6 General disadvantages of having children
(Percentage of disadvantages given coded under each general disadvantage category)

Disadvantage and code	Percentage
Emotional costs *(Emot)*	50
Financial costs *(Fin)*	26
Restrictions on alternative activities *(Res)*	18
Physical demands on parents *(Phys)*	5
Marital problems *(Mar)*	1
Societal costs, overpopulation *(Soc)*	*
Kin group, problems of inheritance *(Kin)*	0
Other disadvantages *(Oth)*	*
All disadvantages	100
(Number)	(1,010)

* Less than 1 percent.

Table 2.7 Specific disadvantages of having children, ranked by frequency of mention and respondents' judgment of importance

Disadvantage	Mentioned		Judged most important		Judged second in importance	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Financial costs, aside from education *(Fin)*	46	*1*	25	*1*	19	*2*
Disciplinary problems *(Emot)*	41	*2*	20	*2*	23	*1*
Health problems of children, worry over sickness *(Emot)*	28	*3*	13	*3*	8	*5*
Educational costs *(Fin)*	22	*4*	9	*4*	9	*4*
Noise, disorder, nuisance *(Emot)*	20	*5*	4	*7*	7	*6*
General rearing problems *(Emot)*	20	*6*	8	*5*	10	*3*
Restrictions on social life, recreation *(Res)*	12	*7*	1		3	*8.5*
Restrictions on job, career *(Res)*	10	*8.5*	5	*6*	4	*7*
General lack of flexibility, freedom *(Res)*	10	*8.5*	2	*10*	3	
General emotional strain *(Emot)*	8	*10.5*	3	*8*	3	*10*
Physical work, tiredness caused by children *(Phys)*	8	*10.5*	2		3	*8.5*
Restrictions on personal wants *(Res)*	7	*12*	2		2	
Restrictions on time *(Res)*	6	*13*	1		2	
Responsibilities of parenthood *(Emot)*	6	*14*	3	*9*	1	
Physical difficulties of pregnancy; maternal health *(Phys)*	5	*15*	1		1	

Table 2.7 *(continued)*

Disadvantage	Mentioned		Judged most important		Judged second in importance	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
All other disadvantages	*	na	3		2	
Total[a]	na		103		100	
(Number of respondents)	(389)		(360)		(310)	
(No response)	(0)		(29)		(79)	

NOTE: All specific disadvantages mentioned by at least 5 percent of respondents are included. General disadvantage codes are shown in italics. Only ten disadvantages are ranked by importance.

na = not applicable

* Less than 1 percent.

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Differences between subgroups are not marked (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). Slightly fewer rural than urban respondents mentioned financial problems, but more rural respondents considered these problems to be most important. Slightly more women than men mentioned cost of education, but more men considered it most important. General child-rearing problems seem to have been predominantly female concerns. Restrictions on social life and on general flexibility were mentioned by more urban than rural, and by more female than male, respondents. None of these differences, however, is very striking or consistent. Within each group the ranking of disadvantages is practically uniform.

For comparison with the advantages they perceived for themselves in having children, respondents were first asked what they saw as the main reasons why other "people around here" wanted children. The same set of categories, with a few additions, was used to tally responses (Table 2.10). Most frequently mentioned were happiness for the family (20 percent) and companionship, comfort, and care in old age (14 percent), followed by play and fun with children (10 percent) and happiness for the individual parent (9 percent). Answers to this question tended to be shorter, less elaborate, and somewhat vaguer than answers to the earlier question about respondents themselves. The reasons also seemed to follow stereotypes of why people *should* want children. Thus economic reasons were de-emphasized and dependence

on children to perform chores and run errands was less frequently mentioned. On the other hand, five respondents (1 percent) said

Table 2.8 Specific disadvantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified disadvantages, by subgroup)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Financial costs, aside from education *(Fin)*	50	46	44	47	46	46
Disciplinary problems *(Emot)*	42	46	36	43	40	41
Health problems of children, worry over sickness *(Emot)*	31	25	26	29	26	28
Educational costs *(Fin)*	24	25	18	24	21	22
Noise, disorder, nuisance *(Emot)*	18	21	20	21	19	20
General rearing problems *(Emot)*	18	20	22	25	14	20
Restrictions on social life, recreation *(Res)*	13	17	6	13	11	12
Restrictions on job, career *(Res)*	10	9	11	11	9	10
General lack of flexibility, freedom *(Res)*	15	10	5	13	6	10
General emotional strain *(Emot)*	10	8	6	8	8	8
Physical work, tiredness caused by children *(Phys)*	13	2	9	10	6	8
Restrictions on personal wants *(Res)*	10	9	2	9	6	7
Restrictions on time *(Res)*	7	8	2	8	3	6
Responsibilities of parenthood *(Emot)*	7	5	5	6	5	6
Physical difficulties of pregnancy; maternal health *(Phys)*	7	4	3	6	3	5

NOTE: General disadvantage codes are shown in italics.

Table 2.9 Most important disadvantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who ranked specified disadvantages first in importance, by subgroup)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Financial costs, aside from education *(Fin)*	25	22	29	24	27	25
Disciplinary problems *(Emot)*	18	23	18	18	23	20
Health problems of children, worry over sickness *(Emot)*	12	12	16	14	12	13
Educational costs *(Fin)*	6	10	10	6	11	9
Noise, disorder, nuisance *(Emot)*	4	2	5	5	2	4
General rearing problems *(Emot)*	10	8	6	10	6	8
Restrictions on social life, recreation *(Res)*	2	2	0	1	2	1
Restrictions on job, career *(Res)*	6	5	4	6	4	5
General lack of flexibility, freedom *(Res)*	1	3	2	2	2	2
All other disadvantages	18	13	9	14	12	13
Total[a]	102	100	99	100	101	100
(Number of respondents)	(126)	(120)	(114)	(188)	(172)	(360)
(No response)	(9)	(7)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(29)

NOTE: General disadvantage codes are shown in italics.

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

people really did not want all the children they had but had no control over the size of their families.

For further analysis the detailed advantage and disadvantage categories are inconvenient because some categories are so rarely used. The categories were collapsed into a reduced set somewhat more detailed than the general headings, each of which did not appear sufficiently homogeneous. The criteria for collapsing categories were both empirical and theoretical. Principal components analysis was performed but did not give any clearly interpretable dimensions, and it was used

Table 2.10 Perceived reasons why other people want children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Happiness for family *(Hap)*	23	24	14	19	22	20
Companionship, comfort, care in old age *(Econ)*	12	16	13	17	10	14
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom *(Hap)*	8	13	8	7	13	10
Happiness for individual parent (general) *(Hap)*	10	8	9	11	7	9
General help, not specifically economic *(Econ)*	2	6	15	9	6	8
Help in housework, family chores *(Econ)*	9	3	8	7	7	7
Children as reason for, fulfillment of marriage *(Fam)*	6	0	5	4	4	4
General wanting, liking children *(Gen)*	5	2	4	4	3	4
Instinctive, natural to have children *(Gen)*	5	5	0	3	3	3
All other reasons	20	22	22	20	24	22
Total[a]	100	99	98	101	99	101
(Number of respondents)	(128)	(119)	(125)	(197)	(175)	(372)
(No response)	(7)	(8)	(2)	(5)	(12)	(17)

NOTE: General advantage codes are shown in italics.

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

only for guidance. Categories were combined if they were substantively similar, and then combining them depended on (1) whether they had been classified under the same general heading; (2) whether they appeared to be mutually exclusive though essentially similar;[1] (3) whether they generally had some positive correlation among themselves or had high loadings on the same factor; (4) whether they had

1 For example, "happiness for the parent" and "happiness for the family" were combined, because these two basically similar categories were negatively correlated, indicating that giving one response interfered with giving the other.

similar correlations with education and income; and (5) whether at least 5 percent of the respondents mentioned each combined category. These mixed criteria yielded a reduced set of 16 advantages and 11 disadvantages of children (numbered from RA1 to RA16 and RD1 to RD11). For each advantage and disadvantage, frequency of mention by each respondent was scored as 0, 1, or 2 for twice or more (Table 2.11). Analyses using this reduced set will be reported later.

Reasons for wanting sons and daughters

To determine how the values and disvalues attached to sons and daughters differed, respondents were asked how important it was to have children of each sex. Most respondents replied that children of both sexes were important: 91 percent said a boy was very important, and 86 percent said a girl was very important. Only 1 percent and 3 percent, respectively, did not attach any importance to having a boy or a girl. In an attempt to gauge the strength of son preference, respondents were asked: "If you didn't have any sons and you kept having daughters, what would you do? Would you continue having babies until you had a boy, or would you stop after a certain number of girls?" Twenty-five percent said they would continue having babies until a boy came, 5 percent left the matter up to God or fate, and 7 percent were uncertain what they would do. Most of the remainder specified the number of girls they would have before stopping: 9 percent said one or two, 15 percent said three, 22 percent said four, and 13 percent mentioned larger numbers. Close to half of the sample said they would give up before or right after having four girls, but most of the others would continue trying to bear sons or leave the matter up to God.

Those who considered sons and daughters important were next asked why, and their answers were coded according to the categories used for advantages of children. Among first-mentioned reasons for wanting sons, the most common (mentioned by 26 percent of the 378 respondents who answered this question) was economic and financial assistance (Table 2.12). Twenty-one percent mentioned preserving the family name, 13 percent cited help with household chores, and 12 percent mentioned help in taking care of other children. Among reasons for wanting daughters (Table 2.13), help in the house was of overwhelming salience (71 percent of 371 respondents). Other reasons mentioned were particular personality qualities of girls (6 percent) and the companionship they provide for their mothers (5 percent). The happiness children provide and assistance in old age are apparently less salient values when children of a specific sex are talked about. It may

Table 2.11 Reduced set of advantages and disadvantages
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified advantages and disadvantages, by subgroup)

Reduced set		Urban middle	Urbar lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Rank
Advantages								
RA1	Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	10	8	12	11	9	10	*9*
RA2	Love, affection	4	5	5	3	6	5	*14.5*
RA3	Play, relief from strain	24	35[a]	22	26	28	27	*5*
RA4	General happiness	68[b]	57	50[b]	59	58	58	*1*
RA5	Maturity, adulthood, learning from childrearing	15	9	2[c]	7	11	9	*10.5*
RA6	Incentives to succeed	24	17	12	18	18	18	*7*
RA7	Fulfillment; extension of self, own values	7	3	5	4	6	5	*14.5*
RA8	Pleasure in children's growth	11	14	11	9[d]	16[d]	12	*8*
RA9	To carry out parents' aspirations	7	2[e]	8	6	5	6	*12.5*
RA10	Assistance in old age	54	55	58	54	57	56	*2*
RA11	Economic assistance; general help	32	37	43	42[d]	32[d]	37	*4*
RA12	Practical help with housework, on farm	36	39	50[c]	47[d]	36[d]	42	*3*
RA13	Bond between spouses; family life	28[b]	18	13[b]	21	19	20	*6*
RA14	Family traditions, name	6	15[e]	6	7	11	9	*10.5*
RA15	Religious obligations	8	6	3	6	5	6	*12.5*
RA16	Social benefits	5	4	4	2[f]	8[f]	4	*16*
Disadvantages								
RD1	Educational costs	24	25	18	24	21	22	*5*
RD2	Financial costs other than education	50	46	44	47	46	46	*1*

RD3	Responsibility of caring for children; health	34	29	28	34	27	31	*3.5*
RD4	Discipline, moral behavior	42	46	36	43	40	41	*2*
RD5	General anxieties about children	33	30	31	36[d]	26[d]	31	*3.5*
RD6	Noise, disorder, nuisance	18	21	20	21	19	20	*6*
RD7	Pregnancy, maternal health problems	7	4	3	6	3	5	*11*
RD8	Physical work due to children	13	2[e]	9	10	6	8	*10*
RD9	Restrictions on personal wants, own time, freedom	24	21	9[g]	22[d]	14[d]	18	*7*
RD10	Restrictions on social life	13	17[h]	6[h]	13	11	12	*8*
RD11	Restrictions on job, career	10	9	11	11	9	10	*9*
(Number of respondents)		(135)	(127)	(127)	(202)	(187)	(389)	

a Urban lower percentage differs significantly at $p < .01$ from percentages for the urban middle and rural subgroups.

b Urban middle and rural percentages differ significantly at $p < .01$ from percentage for the urban lower subgroup.

c Rural percentage differs significantly at $p < .05$ from percentages for the urban middle and urban lower subgroups.

d Female and male percentages differ significantly at $p < .05$.

e Urban lower percentage differs significantly at $p < .05$ from percentages for the urban middle and rural subgroups.

f Female and male percentages differ significantly at $p < .01$.

g Rural percentage differs significantly at $p < .01$ from percentages for the urban middle and urban lower subgroups.

h Urban lower and rural percentages differ significantly at $p < .01$ from percentage for the urban middle subgroup.

Table 2.12 Reasons for wanting a son
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons first, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Financial contribution	16	16	44	27	24	26
Continuity of family name	27	24	11	18	24	21
Help in housework, family chores	11	16	14	16	11	13
Help in taking care of other children	15	16	5	14	10	12
Help in family business, farm	0	1	10	5	3	4
Sharing financial responsibility	3	3	3	3	4	3
Substitute father	3	4	1	2	4	3
General help, not specifically economic	3	2	2	2	3	2
Behavior or personality of boys	4	2	2	3	2	2
Other reasons	19	15	9	12	16	14
Total[a]	101	99	101	102	101	100
(Number of respondents)	(131)	(121)	(126)	(193)	(185)	(378)
(Not applicable, no response)	(4)	(6)	(1)	(9)	(2)	(11)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

be that the former advantage attaches primarily to babies and very young children, who are in a sense relatively sexless, whereas the latter advantage applies during a late portion of the parent's life, when the assistance provided by a son or by a daughter would not be radically different. Asking about sex-specific values and disvalues may tend to elicit the values attached to older children, teenagers, and young adults.

Slightly more respondents said they expected some economic or practical help from their sons than from their daughters (68 and 61 percent, respectively); 25 percent in the first case and 30 percent in the second said they expected no help—the rest were uncertain—but in each case the percentage expecting help may be considered quite large. Of respondents anticipating help from sons, 59 percent mentioned fi-

Table 2.13 Reasons for wanting a daughter
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons first, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Help in housework, family chores	64	69	81	76	66	71
Behavior or personality of girls	7	9	2	2	10	6
Companionship, closeness with mother	7	5	2	4	6	5
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom	4	3	1	2	3	3
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)	2	2	3	3	2	2
Help in taking care of other children	4	0	2	1	3	2
Mixture of sexes for benefit of children	4	0	1	1	2	2
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	0	3	1	3	0	1
General help, not specifically economic	0	1	3	1	2	1
Other reasons	9	7	4	7	6	7
Total[a]	101	99	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(127)	(120)	(124)	(193)	(178)	(371)
(Not applicable, no response)	(8)	(7)	(3)	(9)	(9)	(18)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

nancial assistance for the family and 13 percent specified help with household chores. Of those anticipating help from daughters, 61 percent mentioned help with household chores and 21 percent mentioned financial assistance. Only a few respondents (11 percent for boys and 10 percent for girls) mentioned assistance in old age, whether specifically economic or not. These results from unstructured questions about the economic and practical values of sons and daughters agree quite well with the previously discussed findings regarding the importance of having sons and daughters.

Attitude scales for the value of children

On the basis of a pilot study (Fawcett, Albores, and Arnold, 1972), 45 attitude items, or statements, were written that expressed different values and disvalues connected with children. These statements shall be referred to as the value-of-children or VOC attitude scales. Respondents agreed or disagreed with each statement on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Neutral answers were discouraged by not including a neutral category among the possible responses. Those who insisted they were neutral, however, and those who failed to respond to particular items were given a score of 4.

These statements were of course composed before the advantages and disadvantages elicited from the open-ended questions were known, so that there are what appear in retrospect to be important omissions. Only one item dealt with assistance in old age (item 2)[2] when there certainly should have been more. There were no items referring to help with housework, assistance with the family finances (which was partly covered, however, in other sections of the questionnaire), problems of disciplining children, and worries over children's illnesses. Attitude scales should contain less significant as well as more significant values, so that conclusions can be drawn from respondents' relative agreement and disagreement with different clusters of items. Nevertheless, the unavoidable omissions in the VOC scales require a note of caution that important dimensions may not be reflected in them because of the limited selection of values represented.

Many of the VOC items were phrased positively, expressing values rather than disvalues. As expected, most of the items elicited general agreement rather than disagreement. For only six items, in fact, was the mean rating below the neutral point of 4 (Table 2.14), and three of those items expressed negative attitudes toward children. Respondents disagreed most strongly with the idea that married couples would be happier without children (mean score, 1.7). Three of the other items with which respondents generally disagreed suggest that couples are under normative pressures to have children. Most respondents indicated that having children was not essential to community acceptance, that pressures from family and friends did not dictate a couple's decision to have children, and that the argument that a couple should not limit their children because it would "interfere with nature" was invalid. Respondents also disagreed with the statement that

2 Item numbers refer to the sequence in which items appeared in the questionnaire. See Table 2.14 for the full items.

Table 2.14 Mean level of agreement with VOC attitude items

Item		Mean score[a]
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	6.79
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do	6.62
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	6.61
8	It is only natural that a man should want children	6.55
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	6.52
3	Raising children is an act of virtue	6.52
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run	6.52
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children	6.52
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	6.46
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	6.43
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	6.43
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	6.43
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	6.41
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	6.40
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage	6.32
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have children is whether or not they can afford it	6.28
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	6.28
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	6.26
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	6.26
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	6.22
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children	6.18
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	6.09
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	6.05

Table 2.14 *(continued)*

Item		Mean score[a]
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	5.83
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection	5.81
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	5.79
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any	5.79
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children	5.64
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	5.60
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	5.54
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	5.40
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people	5.40
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life	5.15
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	5.04
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy	4.53
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	4.50
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not	4.33
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	4.26
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	4.19
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have	3.88
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain	3.78
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	3.49
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children	3.46
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	3.11
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children	1.68

a Possible scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). A score of 4 is neutral.

always having children around causes mental strain, or that having children leads to disagreements and problems between spouses. Another item expressing a negative attitude toward children—caring for children is tedious and boring—scored below the remaining 38 items but nevertheless elicited agreement (mean, 4.19).

A large number of items received strong agreement, among them: that children make a stronger bond between husband and wife, that one of the best things about parenthood is the chance to teach children what they should and should not do, that being a good parent is a sufficient achievement in life, that having children is one of life's highest purposes, that raising them is an act of virtue, that any efforts the parents make are worthwhile in the long run, and that it is only natural for a man or a woman to want children. The first two of these items had the smallest variance of any of the items, indicating a strong positive consensus. The one item related to old-age assistance ("A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work") ranked only nineteenth in degree of agreement.

Several inferences can be drawn from these results. It appears likely that many respondents had an agreement set—that is, they were predisposed to agree with the items—and accordingly one would have to study differences in levels of agreement among those respondents rather than differences between those who agreed and those who disagreed. There is also the possibility that respondents expressed ideal norms rather than their actual feelings, thus indicating whether they thought they should agree with particular items rather than whether they actually agreed. This latter interpretation is supported by the responses to the open-ended questions. For example, the attitude item about old-age assistance scored lower than the high-flown, idealistic items about children as a sublime purpose and the source of a deeper bond between spouses, perhaps because it has a utilitarian ring; yet in answering the unstructured question about the advantages of children, respondents revealed that old-age assistance from children was an important value to them. Finally, the rejection of items implying group pressures on childbearing is consistent with the inference, stated earlier, that the rhetoric of child-related values is individualistic rather than collectivistic for Filipinos.

Value dimensions from the VOC scales

Principal components analysis was performed on the 45 VOC items, and the first six components, accounting for 40 percent of the variance, were rotated to orthogonality using the varimax criterion. These

six components (Table 2.15) are each distinct dimensions of values, but they are not necessarily all significant dimensions.

The first component has to do with traditional family values, with the continuity of the family name and family traditions, of the family as a viable group (the children taking over when the parents are too old), of the society and of basic societal values, and to some extent of the individual himself through his children. The family is seen both as providing basic securities and as an essential building block in society. Those emphasizing this dimension have a strong orientation toward group enhancement, a belief in the individual's duties and in the praiseworthiness of children's loyalty. This kind of group orientation has to do with the mythification of family life and is not in conflict with the rejection of group pressures on individual childbearing behavior, because its essence is the voluntary recognition of a deep cultural value rather than externally coerced compliance. For later reference this dimension shall be labelled *family continuity* (VCONT).

The second component has two types of items, one having to do with the psychological and economic costs of children (limitations on parents' activities, disagreements between spouses, the mental strain, the financial burden, the tedium of caring for children) and the second having to do with external pressures on childbearing (community pressures, pressures from family and friends, moral pressures in the sense of conceptions of what is natural and unnatural for people to do). At one end of this dimension are the optimists, who believe that children are more a blessing than a burden and that having them is a voluntary act. At the other end are the pessimists, who are aware of the costs and sensitive to the pressures. This compound component can be labeled as *costs of children–external pressures on childbearing* (VCOST and VPRES).

The third component is perhaps the least clear. Three items with high loadings have to do with the way children brighten up one's life, bring happiness, and fend off loneliness. By themselves they would make the component quite similar to the often cited advantage that children bring happiness to the parent or to the family. There is a fourth item that has a higher loading than any of the others, however, which states that having children is inevitable for most people. The combination of these four items might be interpreted as the belief that children are an inevitable but enjoyable part of life and that childlessness, on the other hand, is a rare personal tragedy. Or it may be that the fourth item is often interpreted as meaning that it is inevitable for

people to *want* children. Without attempting to resolve the issue we shall label this component *emotional rewards from children* (VEMOT).

Items with highest loadings on the fourth component state that wanting children is natural for both men and women and having them is an important function of marriage. The achievement of adult status through becoming a father or a mother is also a part of this component. With still relatively large loadings on this component are two other items having to do with the parent role: being a good parent is a completely satisfying achievement, and the feeling of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile. The factor has to do with social roles in relation to children and may be labeled role fulfillment (in the sense that childbearing and parenting satisfy particular role demands), or role motivation (in the sense that these roles provide rationales for wanting children) or, perhaps best, *role expression* (VROLE) – in the sense that childbearing and childrearing are an expression of roles one normally passes through.

The important items for the fifth component include things couples should consider before having children, mostly negative factors: the inconvenience, whether they can afford children, and alternatives to children. It is notable that seeing children as the highest purpose in life also loads, though less highly, on this factor. The component does not involve a rejection of children, then, but a concern for putting childbearing in a decision context, in the context of what one's ultimate purposes are. Those who affirm the importance of such a decision context in childbearing may do so because of a modern belief in rational control of one's life or because limited resources force them to make difficult choices between different wants. This factor will be labeled *decision-mindedness* (VDECN).

On the sixth component, children are seen as incentives for parents and as long-term investments: all the efforts one makes for children will be worthwhile in the long run. Children are seen as providing goals and introducing meaning into parents' lives. Teaching them things becomes an activity rewarding in itself. In addition, they become a focal point for cohesion between husband and wife, in a sense a shared project. This dimension shall be labeled the *incentive value of children* (VINCT).

In order to determine the reliability of these six dimensions, the same analysis was performed separately for female and male respondents and for urban and rural respondents. There is overlap between these solutions, but if four mutually exclusive groups were distin-

Table 2.15 VOC factor structure for total sample

Item		Factor I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Communality
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.68	.17	.05	.09	-.06	.09	.52
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	.66	.03	-.01	-.03	.09	.03	.45
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.60	-.03	.16	.33	.04	.19	.55
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	.58	.06	-.02	.04	-.07	.37	.49
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.57	.06	.16	.24	.19	-.07	.46
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.53	.05	.33	.30	.16	.05	.51
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	.47	.05	.19	-.03	.30	-.13	.37
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	.45	.04	.20	.23	-.02	.14	.31
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.39	.34	.39	.01	.06	-.03	.42
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	.38	-.10	.03	.31	.37	.12	.41
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	-.11	.65	-.17	-.06	.11	.09	.49
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	.05	.62	.04	-.06	-.16	-.02	.42

10	Always having children around is a great mental strain	.09	.59	.03	.09	.17	-.25	.46
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	.15	.56	.29	.06	-.04	.05	.43
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people	-.14	.52	-.14	-.07	-.03	.40	.48
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children	.06	.41	.25	-.10	.18	-.15	.31
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	-.03	.39	.04	.07	.06	-.35	.29
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have children	-.09	.34	-.03	-.30	.13	-.21	.29
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not	.14	.35	.23	-.23	.32	.20	.39
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have	.13	.32	.29	.09	-.17	-.15	.26
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	.18	.32	.02	-.05	.08	.29	.23
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	.23	.26	.10	.19	.12	.20	.22
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children	.09	.07	.69	-.05	.01	.01	.49
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	.35	-.12	.55	.04	.22	.17	.52
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy	.24	.22	.47	.10	-.00	-.09	.34

Table 2.15 *(continued)*

Item		Factor I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Communality
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children	-.07	-.01	.45	.26	.05	.21	.32
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children	-.08	-.06	.13	.70	-.01	.13	.54
8	It is only natural that a man should want children	.14	.03	.00	.68	-.05	.04	.48
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.43	.09	-.04	.49	.25	-.07	.51
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage	.28	-.01	.41	.49	.09	.05	.50
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	.28	.01	-.11	.46	.38	-.13	.47
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	.27	-.07	.11	.45	.03	.43	.48
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	.37	-.10	.04	.41	.08	.27	.40
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection	.10	.30	.04	.40	.10	-.03	.28
3	Raising children is an act of virtue	.09	-.06	-.00	.38	.26	.03	.23
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.22	-.06	.26	.35	.15	.19	.31
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any	.14	.12	-.03	.02	.66	-.00	.47
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have any children is whether or not they can afford it	.09	.02	.06	.10	.63	.15	.44

32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	.04	.15	.10	.09	.50	.12	.31
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	.38	-.17	.21	.24	.39	.15	.45
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run	.03	-.03	.14	-.01	.24	.52	.35
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	.12	-.04	-.08	-.10	-.01	.45	.24
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do	.03	-.12	.16	.28	.22	.40	.33
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	.20	-.05	.18	.23	.21	.34	.29
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life	-.02	.18	.31	.15	.14	.32	.28
Eigenvalue		4.19	3.05	2.46	3.41	2.37	2.21	17.80

guished each would be too small. The factor structures for women and men (Tables 2.16 and 2.17) are relatively similar, but the factor structures for urban and rural residents (Tables 2.18 and 2.19) differ somewhat. An attempt was made to match particular orthogonal factors across the two sexes by determining which factors correlated above .40 with the same sets of items. Where two factors appeared to match except for a few items that correlated with only one of them, we attempted to determine if a correlation of between .20 and .39 existed between these items and the other factor and accepted that as supporting the matching. The same procedure was followed with the urban and rural factor structures. Table 2.20 shows which factors appear to match and the coefficients of congruence (H.H. Harman, 1967: 349) between them. The coefficients of congruence are not very high, except for family continuity and, among male and female respondents, the costs of children. These first two factors are reliably distinct and comparable across different subgroups. Role expression appears to be somewhat less reliable but still identifiable from each solution, but the other factors do not appear consistently in every solution.

Some further observations may be made about each of the factors in relation to the different subgroups. While the structure of Factor I, family continuity, is stable across subgroups, there are distinct though minor variations. For women and rural residents, item 14 ("Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife") has a high correlation with this factor (.50 and .70, respectively), while for men and urban residents the correlations are low (.12 and .20). Apparently the marital bond was a greater source of concern for the former groups. For male respondents personal continuity through one's children was more important, as reflected in the higher loading on item 35. For rural residents a few items have unexpected correlations with this factor, as if the responses from this subgroup are somewhat less reliable. But the correlations represent only minor differences in emphasis and do not affect the interpretation of this factor.

The combined costs–external-pressures factor is also stable across subgroups. In each factor solution, generally the same set of items reflecting both portions of this compound correlates with a single factor. For rural residents pressures are somewhat more prominent on this factor and for urban residents somewhat less. In the rural case the dimension may represent a rejection of the only negative items in the list, the association of children with particular disvalues and the association between having children and coercion. One might expect rural respondents to have less differentiated belief systems than urban

Table 2.16 VOC factor structure for female subgroup

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.70					
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.62					
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	.60					
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.59					
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.59					
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	.50			.30		.39
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	.49				.30	
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	.46					.45
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	.39		.39			.33
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	(.28)					
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain		.58				
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife		.56				
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children		.54				
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children		.52				

Table 2.16 *(continued)*

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go		.50				.30
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have		.45				
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy		.44				
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.36	.40				
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job		.38				
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children		.37				
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have children		(.25)				
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children			.71			
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage			.64			
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children						
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	.31		.55		.41	
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile			.55			
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	.39		.45			
8	It is only natural that a man should want children			.43	.41		
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do			.41		.33	
3	Raising children is an act of virtue			(.29)			

16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother				.58		
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.42			.57		
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection				.56		
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	.39			-.43		
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children			.30	.37	.30	
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any					.64	
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have any children is whether or not they can afford it					.61	
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not					.46	.31
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else					.39	
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents			.38		.39	
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life					.34	
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people		.35				.62
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life						.55
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run						.41
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy						.36
Eigenvalue		4.27	3.09	3.65	2.32	2.54	2.08

a Loadings $< |.30|$ suppressed. If the largest loading for a particular item is smaller than .30, it appears in parentheses.

Table 2.17 VOC factor structure for male subgroup

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.64				.40	
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	.63					
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	.62					
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.61				.32	
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	.60					
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.56		.31			
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.55					
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	.51				.32	.31
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	.51					
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	.45		.35			
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.44	.40		.40		
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.36					
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go		.63				
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife		.62				

10	Always having children around is a great mental strain		.62			.30	
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	.30	.59				
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job		.51			-.34	
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people		.48				
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have children		.44		-.43		
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children		.37				
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have		.35				
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any			.70			
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother			.64			
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.41		.49	.37		
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have any children is whether or not they can afford it			.47			
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	.36		.44			
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	.31			.72		
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children				.58	.32	
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children				.51		
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not		.30		.41		
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy				.39		
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy	.33			.37		
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life				.35		

Table 2.17 *(continued)*

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife				.32		.30
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children					.72	
8	It is only natural that a man should want children					.69	
3	Raising children is an act of virtue					.44	
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection		.38			.42	
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage	.37			.46	.41	
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life					(.28)	
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do						.72
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run				.32		.60
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	.34				.43	.53
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else			.39			.41
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally						.33
Eigenvalue		5.04	3.25	2.67	2.81	3.25	2.41

a Loadings $< |.30|$ suppressed. If the largest loading for a particular item is smaller than .30, it appears in parentheses.

Table 2.18 VOC factor structure for urban subgroup

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
8	It is only natural that a man should want children	.68					
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children	.66					
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection	.54			.30		
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage	.42	.38			.35	
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	.39				.35	.31
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.37					
3	Raising children is an act of virtue	.35					
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	.30					
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children		.73				
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely		.58			.33	
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy		.45				
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children		.45		.30	.35	
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children		.41				
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life		.40		.30		
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run			.51			
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job			-.51			
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life			.50			

Table 2.18 *(continued)*

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have children			-.43			
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	.36		.40		.35	
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children			-.36			
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do			.33			.33
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife			.31			
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have			(-.25)			
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go				.64		
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people				.63		
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife				.52		
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children				.50		
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain			-.36	.46		
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy				.46		
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not				.44		

34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name					.69	
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.30				.62	
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on					.62	
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.34				.56	
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage			.38		.55	
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.31				.54	
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.32	.34			.54	
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work					.42	
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents					.41	.37
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	.40				.41	
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children		.30			.41	
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have any children is whether or not they can afford it						.67
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any						.64
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else						.57
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children					.40	.41
Eigenvalue		3.03	2.84	2.30	2.35	4.41	2.39

a Loadings $<|.30|$ suppressed. If the largest loading for a particular item is smaller than .30, it appears in parentheses.

Table 2.19 VOC factor structure for rural subgroup

Item		Factor[a]					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.72					
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	.72					
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	.69	.34				
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	.62					
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	.57					
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have any children is whether or not they can affort it	.52			.31		
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.50					
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	.49					
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.49					.35
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run	.46			.40		
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	.45					
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.34					
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children		.85				
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage	.38	.66				
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children		.65				
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	.43	.60				

30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life		.57		.51	
8	It is only natural that a man should want children	.43	.54			
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.41	.43			.43
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children			.72		
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife			.71		
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children			.66		
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have			.60		
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go			.54		
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain			.49	-.34	
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.32		.43		
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children			.40	.34	
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile				.65	
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally			.30	.58	
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	.34			.57	
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do	.30			.51	
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	.38			.46	

Table 2.19 *(continued)*

Item		Factor[a] I	II	III	IV	V	VI
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society				.44		.42
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	.34			.42		
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have children				-.37		
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life				.32		
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any					.68	
3	Raising children is an act of virtue					.66	
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection					.56	.47
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	-.37				.42	
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not			.34		.37	
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people			.41			-.57
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life						-.43
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy					.31	.43
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy		.32	.35			.41
Eigenvalue		5.26	3.91	3.92	3.49	2.55	1.93

a Loadings $<|.30|$ suppressed.

Table 2.20 Correspondence between factor solutions

Total-sample factor		Female-male subgroups: Corresponding factor, Female	Female-male subgroups: Corresponding factor, Male	Female-male subgroups: Congruence coefficient	Urban-rural subgroups: Corresponding factor, Urban	Urban-rural subgroups: Corresponding factor, Rural	Urban-rural subgroups: Congruence coefficient
I	Family continuity	I	I	.94	V	I	.85
II	Costs of children	II	II	.90	IV	III	.68
II	External pressures	II	Ii		a	III	na
III	Emotional rewards	a	IV	na	II	a	na
IV	Role expression	III	V	.75	I	II	.70
V	Decision-mindedness	V	III	.56	VI	a	na
VI	Incentive value	VI	VI	.39	III	a	na

NOTE: Congruence coefficients after H.H. Harman (1967:349). For comparison of magnitudes, the unmatched fourth factors for male and female respondents have a congruence coefficient between them of .18.

na—not applicable.

a No parallel factor was identified for this subgroup.

respondents, which may be reflected in this failure to distinguish ideas that others may see as different.

The role expression factor matches less well, though the items having highest correlations with this factor—particularly the items "Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile," "It is only natural that a man should want children," and "Having children is the most important function of marriage"—are similar across subgroups. For women and for rural respondents, the item "Life for most people would be pretty dull without children" correlates highly with this factor, as if it were part of the female role, perhaps more in rural areas, for a woman to stay at home bored unless she had children to occupy her time. For men and urban respondents, on the other hand, the item "It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection" loads on the role expression factor. One may say that it is part of the male role, and generally expected of urban residents, to withhold emotional expression, and being with a child gives sanctioned release from this restriction. For women the item about having children as one of the highest purposes in life correlates with this factor, but not for men. For rural residents (and for women to a lesser extent) immortality through children relates to this factor—which suggests that it is part of the social definition of the rural resident to see himself or herself in the context of ancestry and offspring, whereas for the urban residents lineages are more a matter of personal interest than social placement. The way having children fits into social roles therefore differs between different groups, but the question of whether or not having children is an essential part of adult roles is a sufficiently general dimension of children's values and disvalues.

None of the remaining factors has a counterpart in the factor structure for rural respondents. For instance, the items reflecting decision-mindedness are spread over the remaining factors in the rural case. In addition, only one other factor in the rural factor structure is sufficiently interpretable. The fourth factor deals with the satisfactions and the sense of moral enhancement derived from being a parent: the feeling of being needed, the tendency to behave more morally, the opportunity to teach children right and wrong. This factor (to be called *parental satisfactions*, VSATS) is not immediately identifiable in the other solutions. The ambiguity of the last two rural factors suggests that there are really only three or four distinct dimensions of values and disvalues of children for rural residents, who may have, as previously suggested, a more simplified and less differentiated structure of attitudes toward children.

The decision-mindedness factor appears for women, men, and urban residents. Women, though not other groups, include the wife's work among the factors that should be considered in making a decision. Women and urban residents, but not men, include alternate uses for one's money among the decision factors, a finding that implies women disburse the family income.

The incentive value factors for women, men, and urban residents are poorly matched, the coefficients of congruence among them dropping to .39 (women versus men), .37 (women versus urban respondents), and .62 (men versus urban respondents). The poor match is of course partly due to the constraint that the incentive factor be orthogonal to the previous ones in the same solution and the statistical improbability that the previous ones would match perfectly. Rather than assuming the generality of the previous interpretation of this factor, it may be necessary to interpret these results separately for each subgroup. The only item common to the factors from the three solutions is 13, which states that a parent's efforts for his children are worthwhile in the long run. For women item 6, about the incentive value of children, also correlates with this factor as expected. But there are two unexpected items, one about the financial burden of raising children (37) and another about how children interfere with things one enjoys (39). A childrearing ideology peculiar to women appears to be involved here, which suggests that parents should do the best for their children, seeking no reward other than the effort itself, in spite of the inevitable expense and sacrifice involved. The factor for men, on the other hand, appears to be closer to the parental satisfactions factor previously identified for rural respondents (with which it has a coefficient of congruence of .78) and should probably be assimilated to that factor. The urban factor, though it is closer geometrically—but not very close—to the male factor, in interpretation should probably be more like the female factor. It appears to involve the worth of childrearing, its not being tedious or boring, its importance for marital happiness, its being a significant achievement in itself.

The emotional rewards factor for men and urban respondents has identical content. The coefficient of congruence between the two groups is .84. The factor is not identified for women and rural respondents, for which there is no obvious explanation, except the possibility in the latter case of less cognitive differentiation.

On the basis of these interpretations, scales were devised to represent each important dimension. Wherever possible, only those items with both a reliable empirical and a clear theoretical justification for relating to a particular dimension were included in the particular scale

for that dimension. Given the complexities of the interpretations, these decisions were somewhat arbitrary and not every nuance could be preserved. The indices finally used are given in Exhibit 2.1. Only one set of indices was defined for the entire sample, rather than different sets for each subgroup, which would make comparison difficult. Exhibit 2.1 contains a list of comparable subscores developed on the basis of a factor analysis of the same items for respondents from six countries, including the Philippines (see Arnold et al., 1975). The two sets of subscores are parallel but not identical.

Of the eight indices defined for Philippine respondents, incentive value has the highest mean for the entire sample and also for each subgroup (Table 2.21). Although this index is not the most important dimension along which attitudes vary, Philippine respondents agreed most strongly with the items expressing the incentive value of children. Role expression has the second highest mean score. Family continuity, scoring third, was significantly less important for urban respondents, as was role expression. Decision-mindedness, paradoxically, is higher for rural than for urban respondents. If we assume that images of the good life do not vary too greatly, then smaller incomes may force rural respondents more often to consider spending for children in comparison with other uses for their money. Emotional rewards and parental satisfactions are also higher for rural respondents. The two indices on which mean scores are lowest, costs and pressures, do not

Table 2.21 Mean scores on VOC indices

Index	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Family continuity	5.84†	6.01†	6.52†	6.24*	5.98*	6.12
Costs of children	4.02	4.47	4.22	4.30	4.16	4.23
Role expression	6.21*	6.27*	6.50*	6.46*	6.18*	6.33
Decision-mindedness	5.60†	5.66†	6.22†	5.90	5.74	5.83
Incentive value	6.56	6.34	6.53	6.49	6.46	6.48
Emotional rewards	5.51*	5.55*	5.91*	5.76	5.55	5.66
Parental satisfactions	6.01*	5.88*	6.20*	6.12	5.94	6.03
External pressures	3.86	4.02	4.20	4.25*	3.78*	4.02

NOTE: Possible scores range from 1 to 7.

* Differences between indicated subgroups are significant at .05.

† Differences between indicated subgroups are significant at .01.

Exhibit 2.1 Indices from VOC attitude items

Family continuity

Item

2 A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work
7 It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on
12 It is a person's duty to society to have children
31 The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society
34 A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name
35 A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children
42 Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage
43 The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, I; female subgroup, I; male subgroup, I; urban subgroup, V; rural subgroup, I. Comparable index (continuity, tradition, security) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 2, 7, 25, 34, 35.

Costs of children

10 Always having children around is a great mental strain
19 Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go
26 Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife
37 Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, II; female subgroup, II; male subgroup, II; urban subgroup, IV; rural subgroup, III. Comparable index (costs of children) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 19, 26, 37, 39.

Role expression

8 It is only natural that a man should want children
16 A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother
18 Having children is the most important function of marriage
28 It is only natural that a woman should want children
30 A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life
45 A boy becomes a man only after he is a father

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: Total sample, IV; female subgroup, III; male subgroup, V; urban subgroup, I; rural subgroup, II. Comparable index (role motivation) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 8, 16, 22, 28, 45.

Decision-mindedness

9 A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any
23 The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have children is whether they can afford it

Exhibit 2.1 *(continued)*

Decision-mindedness *(continued)*

32 Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, V; female subgroup, V; male subgroup, III; urban subgroup, VI. Comparable index (decision-mindedness for childbearing) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 9, 23, 32, 41.

Incentive value

6 Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life
13 All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, VI; female subgroup, VI; urban subgroup, III. Comparable index (goals and incentives from children) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 6, 14, 15.

Emotional rewards

20 Life for most people would be pretty dull without children
36 One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely
44 A person who has no children can never really be happy

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, III; male subgroup, IV; urban subgroup, II. Comparable index (happiness, affection) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 4, 43, 44.

Parental satisfactions

22 After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally
29 Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile
33 One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do.

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: male subgroup, VI; rural subgroup, IV. Comparable index (parenthood satisfactions) from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) includes items 29, 30, 33.

External pressures

11 Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice about whether or not to have children
21 A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children
24 For most people, it is inevitable to have children
38 It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have

SOURCE: Derived from the following factor solutions: total sample, II; female subgroup, II; male subgroup, II; urban subgroup, III; rural subgroup, III. Comparable indices from the cross-national analysis by Arnold et al. (1975) are: external controls on childbearing, including items 11 and 38, and social status from children, including items 21 and 27.

significantly differentiate the socioeconomic groups. On three indices women scored significantly higher than men: role expression, external pressures, and family continuity.

Advantages and disadvantages of children compared with VOC scales

It was suggested earlier that individuals' responses to the VOC attitude items may not correspond to the advantages and disadvantages of children that the same individuals described in response to unstructured questions. When individuals themselves have to supply reasons for wanting children, they speak from their own experience, however stereotyped or opaque this experience may be. Confronted with a set of value statements, on the other hand, they draw on cultural ideals of right relationships and proper emotions, particularly where their own experience or sensitivities are thin.

To confirm this interpretation it is useful to investigate the association between respondents' mentioning specific advantage or disadvantage categories and the degree of agreement they registered on particular VOC scales. Predictions were made regarding which of the reduced set of advantages and disadvantages would be associated with each scale. When correlations between the two sets of value dimensions were obtained, almost all the predictions proved to be wrong. For instance, family continuity (from the VOC scales) does not correlate with companionship (RA1), extension of the self (RA7), or religious obligations (RA15). (See Table 2.22.) It does correlate with family traditions (RA14), but negatively, correlates positively with economic assistance (RA11), and correlates negatively with the bond between spouses (RA13) and financial problems (RD2). The one VOC scale that shows agreement with the reduced advantage/disadvantage categories is cost, which correlates with financial problems (RD2); noise, disorder, nuisance (RD6); and restrictions on social life (RD10). All these correlations were predicted, but a few other predicted correlations did not appear.

On the possibility that collapsing the VOC items into scales concealed some possible overlap between the items and the reduced set of advantages and disadvantages, canonical factors were obtained between the latter and the original 45 VOC items. Two significant ($p < .05$) canonical variates were obtained, the correlations being .64 and .57. The redundancy coefficients for the first factor are .02 for the advantages and disadvantages, .02 also for the VOC items, and .01 for the second factor in both cases. Thus the two significant factors account for only 3 percent of the variance in each set of value items, indicating very little overlap between them.

Table 2.22 Structure coefficients of two canonical factors, for reduced set of advantages and disadvantages and for VOC attitude items

Variable		Factor[a] I	II
Reduced set of advantages and disadvantages			
RA1	Companionship, avoidance of loneliness		.30
RA2	Love, affection		
RA3	Play, relief from strain		
RA4	General happiness		
RA5	Maturity, adulthood, learning from childrearing	.39	
RA6	Incentives to succeed	.24	-.28
RA7	Fulfillment; extension of self, own values	.33	
RA8	Pleasure in children's growth		
RA9	To carry out parents' aspirations		
RA10	Assistance in old age	-.22	-.32
RA11	Economic assistance; general help	-.24	
RA12	Practical help with housework, on farm		.27
RA13	Bond between spouses; family life	.54	
RA14	Family traditions, name	.40	.46
RA15	Religious obligations		
RA16	Social benefits		.24
RD1	Educational costs		
RD2	Financial costs other than education		
RD3	Responsibility of caring for children; health	.22	-.31
RD4	Discipline, moral behavior		
RD5	General anxieties about children		
RD6	Noise, disorder, nuisance		.31
RD7	Pregnancy, maternal health problems		
RD8	Physical work due to children		
RD9	Restrictions on personal wants, own time, freedom	.52	-.22
RD10	Restrictions on social life		
RD11	Restrictions on job, career	.34	
Factor redundancy		.02	.01
Total redundancy		.03	

Table 2.22 *(continued)*

Variable		Factor[a] I	II
VOC items			
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	-.22	
2	A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	-.48	
3	Raising children is an act of virtue		-.47
4	It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection		-.23
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children		-.24
6	Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life		
7	It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on		
8	It is only natural that a man should want children		-.21
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any		
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain	-.24	.21
11	Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children		
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	-.43	-.26
13	All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run		-.34
14	Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife		-.28
15	One of the highest purposes of life is to have children		-.28
16	A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	-.33	-.21
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life		
18	Having children is the most important function of marriage		
19	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	.25	
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children		
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children		.27
22	After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally		
23	The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have children is whether or not they can afford it		

Table 2.22 *(continued)*

Variable		Factor[a] I	Factor[a] II
VOC items *(continued)*			
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children		
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	-.30	
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	-.24	
27	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	-.28	
28	It is only natural that a woman should want children		
29	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	-.29	-.23
30	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	-.36	-.30
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	-.46	
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else		-.39
33	One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should do and what they should not do		
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	-.35	
35	A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	-.28	
36	One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	-.24	
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people	.23	
38	It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have	-.24	
39	When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy		
40	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children		-.38
41	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not		
42	Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	-.23	-.27
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	-.41	

Table 2.22 *(continued)*

Variable		Factor[a] I	II
VOC items *(continued)*			
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy		
45	A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	−.48	
Factor redundancy		.02	.01
Total redundancy		.03	

a Coefficients $<|.20|$ suppressed.

The structure coefficients in Table 2.22 represent the overlap, in the form of correlations between individual items and the canonical variates. The first canonical factor appears to represent education, since most of the items with high coefficients also correlate with education. Among the reduced sets of advantages and disadvantages, the largest coefficients are for bond between spouses (RA13) and restrictions on personal wants (RD9), which correlate .23 and .10, respectively, with education. Among the VOC items, those with highest coefficients (all negative) are items 2, 12, 31, 43, and 45, which correlate with education at −.27, −.25, −.19, −.08, and −.25, respectively. (The general question of how education affects values and disvalues of children will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.) The second canonical factor relates mentioning family tradition (RA14), companionship (RA1), and noise (RD6) and *not* mentioning assistance in old age (RA10) and responsibility for children (RD3) to disagreeing with the statements that raising children is a virtue (item 3), teaching children is one of the best things about being a parent (item 33), and the really important things in life can be learned only from raising children (item 40). No adequate interpretation of this factor has been found.

The value constellations represented by the advantages and disadvantages, on the one hand, and the VOC scales, on the other, appear therefore to be distinct. Where there is overlap it is not between expected responses, and the reasons for overlap are somewhat murky. This finding seems to support the argument that the two questions evoke different frames of reference, and that values can be significant on at least two different dimensions, one involving salient verbal responses and the other involving the use of ideal norms as reference axes.

Number-specific reasons for wanting children

Whether particular values or disvalues attached to children are operative depends not only on the general importance the individual attaches to each value, but also on the individual's perception of relevant elements of his social situation. Under the assumption that values inhere in the person-in-a-situation, changing the situation or making it more explicit could change the relevant values. Accordingly, values were elicited in a decision context, in relation to the individual's desire to have or not to have additional children. These values will be called number-specific or parity-specific, in the sense that they are connected with specific desired numbers of children rather than with children in general.

Thirty-nine percent of all respondents wanted at least one additional child, 54 percent did not want more children, and 7 percent were uncertain. Those who wanted additional children were asked to specify the number they wanted, and were then asked why they would not want fewer or more than that number. Those who did not want any additional children were asked why not.

The reason given most frequently (by 17 percent of 143 respondents) for not wanting fewer than the specified number was to provide companionship for the other children (Table 2.23). For respondents companionship seems to imply not just one companion but several, a group of siblings that can live, play, fight, and grow up together. Thus this reason was given even by those with more than one child. Mentioned with about equal frequency (by between 8 and 19 percent) were such reasons as: the particular number desired is a "good number to have," having more children gives protection against losing some of them through marriage, the desire for a boy or for more boys, happiness for the family, and being able to afford such a number. It is immediately evident that most of these parity-specific reasons are different from the general advantages mentioned for having children. Many of the general advantages could be attained with one or two children; but here the respondents were trying to justify having three, four, five, or more, and the justification required a different set of reasons.

Respondents who wanted additional children next explained why the number they wanted was not greater (Table 2.24). These reasons were very similar to the general disadvantages of children. By far the most important reason (given by 51 percent of the 144 respondents) may be described as general financial problems. Next were general rearing problems (17 percent) and the cost of education (12 percent).

Table 2.23 Reasons why number of additional children desired is not smaller

(Percentage of respondents desiring additional children who mentioned specified reasons first, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Companionship for other children	19	24	9	21	13	17
Good number to have	11	10	9	15	5	10
Anxiety over child mortality, loss through marriage	8	7	11	12	6	9
Want a boy, more boys	2	12	13	9	9	9
Happiness for the family	8	7	9	2	14	8
Can afford that number	8	10	6	3	12	8
Happiness for individual parent	11	2	6	6	6	6
Want a girl, more girls	4	7	7	5	8	6
Want a particular combination, balance of sexes	8	12	0	3	9	6
To share financial responsibility	0	0	9	6	1	4
Other reasons	19	10	20	18	16	17
Total[a]	98	101	99	100	99	100
(Number of respondents)	(47)	(42)	(54)	66)	(77)	(143)
(Not applicable, no response)	(88)	(85)	(73)	(136)	(110)	(246)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Respondents who did not want additional children gave almost the same reasons, 56 percent (of 210) citing financial problems first (Table 2.25). Ten percent begged the question by saying they already had the number of children or combination of boys and girls that they wanted. General rearing problems and the cost of education were mentioned by 8 percent and 7 percent, respectively. Thus those who wanted additional children and those who did not alluded to essentially the same set of parity-specific disvalues of children, but they may have attached these disvalues to different parities. That disciplinary problems, problems having to do with children's health, and the noise and disorder that children cause were not mentioned by either

Table 2.24 Reasons why number of additional children desired is not greater
(Percentage of respondents desiring additional children who mentioned specified reasons first, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
General financial costs	49	55	49	45	55	51
General rearing problems	20	17	13	24	10	17
Educational costs	6	12	17	21	4	12
Concern over children's future	10	2	9	3	12	8
Ease of handling	8	7	6	5	9	7
Other reasons	6	7	6	2	10	6
Total[a]	99	100	100	100	100	101
(Number of respondents)	(49)	(42)	(53)	(66)	(78)	(144)
(Not applicable, no response)	(86)	(85)	(74)	(136)	(109)	(245)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 2.25 Reasons for not wanting additional children
(Percentage of respondents not wanting additional children who mentioned specified reasons first, by subgroup)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
General financial costs	52	62	52	52	60	56
Already have number and combination wanted	13	9	8	13	6	10
General rearing problems	8	6	10	9	7	8
Educational costs	7	8	5	5	9	7
Health hazard of pregnancy, maternal health	7	5	8	9	2	7
Other reasons	13	9	18	11	15	13
Total[a]	100	99	101	99	99	101
(Number of respondents)	(71)	(77)	(62)	(124)	(86)	(210)
(Not applicable, no response)	(64)	(50)	(65)	(78)	(101)	(179)

a Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

group in this context, although they were frequently mentioned as general disadvantages, suggests the possibility that these particular disadvantages, though they accompany children, are not reasons for avoiding parenthood.

Motives for having or not having additional children

Parity-specific motives were also probed through structured questions. All respondents were asked how important (very important/somewhat important/not important) each of 17 preselected motives for having additional children (MH) was to them, and how important each of nine motives for not having additional children (MN) was[3] (Tables 2.26 and 2.27). Of the first set, the most important motives were the "special feeling of love" that develops between parent and child, the opportunity to share what one has and what one knows with children, and the desire to have enough children survive to adulthood. Predictably, the least important were the pressures exerted by relatives, by one's spouse, and by religious groups. Among the motives for not having children, financial reasons stand out, as they consistently have in the discussion of disvalues. Somewhat surprisingly, concern about overpopulation was often rated a very important motive. Limitations on the time spent with one's spouse and restrictions on one's activities were the least important among the disvalues.

While these ratings were in general agreement with the VOC ratings, they were inconsistent with the answers to the open-ended questions just discussed. Three motives, seeking companionship for one's children, desiring a boy or more boys, and desiring a girl or more girls, were prominent as answers to the open-ended questions but came out relatively low among the positive motivational items. The importance assigned to overpopulation was unusual, since it did not appear as important on any other question. Because the open-ended questions were specific to different groups, it is appropriate to divide the respondents into those who wanted another child and those who did not want another, and to compare the percentages of each group rating each motive as very important. Among the positive motives, the greatest difference between the two groups (73 percent versus 31 percent, for a 42 percent difference) was on companionship for children already

3 These are referred to as "motives" merely in order to distinguish them from the other value indices. No specific theory of motivation is being assumed.

Table 2.26 Motives for having another child

(Percentage of respondents who rated specified motives as very important, by subgroup)

Motive	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
15 I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and child	68	65	79	76	65	71
16 I want to share what I have and what I know with children	62	69	76	71	67	69
17 I want to be sure to have enough children survive to adulthood	53	61	80	69	59	64
14 Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	54	59	75	62	63	62
6 To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	47	56	80	66	54	61
13 It is fun to have children around the house	60	46	71	61	57	59
9 Having another child will make my marriage stronger	43	49	69	56	51	54
1 I enjoy having a small baby	47	46	62	52	50	51
2 To help carry on our family name and traditions	41	52	61	50	52	51
8 So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	36	43	68	50	47	49
10 To provide a companion for my child, children	46	40	58	49	47	48
4 I want to have a girl, another girl	40	36	50	46	38	42
11 I enjoy caring for and raising children	31	37	55	43	39	41
3 I want to have a boy, another boy	34	36	51	40	41	40
7 It is my religious duty to have children	24	37	58	44	34	39

Table 2.26 *(continued)*

Motive	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
12 My spouse wants more children	21	21	42	32	23	28
5 Some relatives feel that I should have more children	7	7	16	14	5	10
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(127)	(202)	(187)	(389)

born.[4] The second and third largest differences were on wanting a girl and wanting a boy (34 percent difference each).[5] Among the negative motives, the financial burden of additional children best differentiated the two groups (the difference is 32 percent), whereas concern about overpopulation was one of the least differentiating motives (only 3 percent difference). The ranking of these motives by percentage differences between the two groups corresponded closely to the ranking of responses from the open-ended questions.

These motives for having and not having children were highly interdependent: those who rated particular positive motives as very important also rated others as more important, and the same is true for the negative motives. In a principal components analysis of all 26 motives, the positive motivational items all had high loadings on the first unrotated factor, which accounted for 29 percent of the variance, and the negative motivational items all loaded on the second factor, which accounted for an additional 15 percent. This result was confirmed by repeating the procedure separately for respondents who wanted and who did not want additional children, with identical results.

4 It may be observed that this motive was not specific to those with only one child. At parity one, 76 percent rated it as very important. At parity two there was a decline, but 62 percent still rated sibling companionship as very important. Among respondents at parity three the proportion rating it as very important was 46 percent, and for all higher parities combined it was 26 percent.

5 The desire for a boy or a girl was not specific to those without boys or girls, although it was certainly stronger among those individuals. Among those with no sons, 64 percent rated having a boy as very important. For those with one son, the proportion was 52 percent; with two sons, 32 percent; and with more than two sons, 13 percent. For those with no daughters, 82 percent rated having a girl as very important. The proportion declined to 52 percent for those with one daughter, to 23 percent for those with two daughters, and to 13 percent for those with three or more daughters.

Table 2.27 Motives for not having another child
(Percentage of respondents who rated specified motives as very important, by subgroup)

Motive	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
1 Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	47	53	54	51	51	51
6 I am concerned about the problem of over-population	51	54	48	55	46	51
8 I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	38	43	40	46	34	40
9 Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	27	33	35	34	28	31
7 Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	27	28	35	35	24	30
4 Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	25	32	28	36	20	28
2 My spouse does not want any more children	16	29	25	24	22	23
3 Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	17	23	20	23	16	20
5 I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	12	16	24	19	15	17
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(127)	(126)	(202)	(187)	(389)

These values were specific to the additional children respondents were thinking about. For someone at parity four, for instance, these values applied to a potential fifth child, and possibly to the sixth, seventh, and later children. Respondents at higher parities generally considered each positive motive less important, and rated half the negative motives more important (Table 2.28). Later children, the demand for whom may be considered relatively inelastic, contributed less of each positive value to their parents and tended to impose greater

Table 2.28 Correlations with parity of motives for having and not having another child

	Motive	Correlation with parity
Motives for having another child		
10	To provide a companion for my child, children	-.40[a]
4	I want to have a girl, another girl	-.35[b]
15	I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and child	-.33
3	I want to have a boy, another boy	-.32[c]
14	Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	-.32
13	It is fun to have children around the house	-.28
1	I enjoy having a small baby	-.28
12	My spouse wants more children	-.26
11	I enjoy caring for and raising children	-.23
9	Having another child will make my marriage stronger	-.22
16	I want to share what I have and what I know with children	-.22
7	It is my religious duty to have more children	-.20
17	I want to be sure to have enough children survive to adulthood	-.20
6	To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	-.18
2	To help carry on our family name and traditions	-.16
5	Some relatives feel that I should have more children	-.14
8	So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	-.07
Motives for not having another child		
1	Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	.25
2	My spouse does not want any more children	.15
7	Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	.15
4	Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	.14
9	Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	.11
8	I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	.09

Table 2.28 *(continued)*

Motive		Correlation with parity
Motives for not having another child *(continued)*		
6	I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	.05
3	Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	.03
5	I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	−.04

a Motive 10 correlates −.29 with number of sons and −.30 with number of daughters.

b Motive 4 correlates −.07 and −.47 with number of sons and number of daughters, respectively.

c Motive 3 correlates −.42 and −.03 with number of sons and number of daughters, respectively.

amounts of some of the disvalues. Among the values to which later children made the least contribution were satisfying the need for sibling companionship and the desire for girls or boys, which are satisfied with a few children. Later children were also distinctly less important for the development of love between parent and child and for the parents' learning about life, both values attained with the first child or the first few children. The value on which later children were mostly nearly equal to earlier children was financial contributions. On three other values—satisfying the wishes of relatives, preserving the family name, and old-age assistance—later children contributed only slightly less than earlier children.

Among the disvalues it was the financial costs that increased most for later children. The spouse's desire not to have more children, the emotional strain, the work and bother, and the strain on the marriage also increased. On the other hand, paying attention to the children was not seen as more difficult for later children, nor were they any more likely to lead to restriction of freedom or to less time with one's spouse. Neither were later children seen as contributing to overpopulation any more than earlier children.

Apart from the values parents attach to them, children may vary in intrinsic qualities that affect their value to their parents. In addition to comparing earlier and later children, one can compare children from small and from large families (Table 2.29). Children from families considered small were given a substantial edge in being closer to parents, more headstrong, more open and loving, more intelligent, and more

Table 2.29 Perceived qualities of children from small and large families
(Percentage of respondents who indicated which type of family is more likely to produce specified qualities)

Quality	Family size		
	Small	Large	Either, don't know
Close to parents	67	10	23
Headstrong	56	27	17
Open and loving toward other people	47	23	30
Intelligent	38	21	41
Self-confident	39	26	35
Happy	31	34	36
Popular with other children	31	37	32

self-confident. Children from families considered large were just marginally ahead in being popular with other children and in being happy.[6] Subgroup differences were slight, though urban middle-class respondents gave children from small families a slightly greater lead in intelligence, and, unlike the other two subgroups, a slight edge rather than a deficit in happiness.

The structure of values attached to children

Two aspects of a particular value universe can be distinguished: its formal structure or organization and its content or substance. The discussion of values and disvalues will be summarized from the point of view of structure in this section, and from the point of view of content in the next. The structure of a value universe is described by answering such questions as: What are the basic units of the value universe? What are their properties, and how are they interrelated? How are different systems of partitioning or ordering the elements related—how do orderings overlap and how do they interact? How do different attempts at measurement relate to each other within the value universe? Some answers to these questions may be provided from the previous discussion.

6 For later analysis a composite index of the relative benefits that children from large families receive was devised from these items.

The basic unit we assume to be a value, a cognitively distinguished component or consequent of having children that has some affective or moral significance attached to it by some of the participants in a particular culture. All of these values taken together we assume to be the cultural inventory of values as far as the particular domain under investigation is concerned. How many people must recognize a particular value to make it part of the cultural inventory is arbitrary, depending on how complete an inventory is desired. Thus the criterion might be 5 percent of the respondents in a particular survey, or at least 5 percent of male and female respondents separately, or a certain number of mentions in some set of literary or social-scientific documents, or any similar cutoff point. The requirement that a value be cognitively distinct would mean that "happiness for the parent" and "happiness for the family," for instance, could not be taken as separate values unless at least 5 percent of those surveyed (or whatever numerical criterion is chosen) see them as distinct. The requirement of affective or moral significance means that only those components or consequents that an individual may desire or wish to avoid could be considered values. There is no requirement that the components or consequents be desired or avoided in and of themselves; they may be valued for leading to other, also valued, consequents.

For each participant in the culture, elements in the cultural inventory have three critical properties: centrality, salience, and differential effect. Within the realm of values each individual is aware of, some elements are more central, closer to the individual's basic concerns, while others are more peripheral, possibly trivial and passing. Centrality determines which values take precedence in case of conflict. The centrality-peripherality ordering may be based on a multiplicity of hierarchical principles. It need not always be consistent and transitive. Since no individual will adequately distinguish all the values in a cultural inventory, there may be a tendency to assign centrality on the basis of ideal cultural norms, which are general and easy to apply, rather than in accordance with limited personal preferences. The level of agreement with the VOC items, and the importance assigned to the motives to have or not to have another child, reflect the ordering by centrality in some portion of this cultural inventory. Because of the interrelations among individual values, it is not expected that the position of each value will be independent of every other. There may be clusters of values whose ratings are positively or negatively associated. These clusters may be said to define dimensions within the cultural inventory along which individual ratings vary. If the VOC

items were more comprehensive, the factors extracted from them could be an operationalization of these dimensions.

Salience refers to the frequency with which a particular value is mentioned in everyday conversation, in the media, or in other contexts. A salient value is one that readily springs to mind, for whatever reason. It may be rooted in common experience, or be a traditional answer, or be a recently popularized cliché. Degree of salience may be seen as a continuous variable defined for each value in the cultural inventory, or as a dichotomous variable. From the latter perspective, the salient values will be some subset of the cultural inventory, not necessarily corresponding to those values that are most central. The open-ended questions about the advantages and disadvantages of children tap the salience of each value. The subsequent ranking in order of importance is dependent on salience, since only those values the respondents mention are ranked. The evidence is that salience and centrality are not strongly correlated, that many values that people would acknowledge as central or basic are not readily verbalized, whereas many of those verbalized are relatively trivial.

The third characteristic of each value is its differential effect. It is actually a cluster of characteristics, since differential effect can be determined only with reference to some criterion, and a number of different criteria may be used. The cultural inventory is meant to include all the values parents attach to any child in any situation, and differential effect refers to the greater importance of some values in relation to particular types of children (e.g., boys versus girls, obedient children versus creative children) or in particular situations (e.g., deciding on another child). Having differential effect is partly a function of a value's being more fully or more certainly attained in one case than in another. Differential effect may also result from the greater centrality or salience attached to values in one situation rather than in another, or by one person rather than another. The most basic and most central values are unlikely to be situationally specific in either sense and thus may have little differential effect. Differential effect depends also, then, on a particular comparison's being made. A value with high differential effect when one culture is compared with another may have little effect when the second culture is replaced by a third. Or, to take another illustration, if the criterion is not dichotomous but an ordinal variable, such as the number of children desired, a particular value may have differential effect only at particular levels. In a sense differential effect can be considered a second-level characteristic, or a characteristic of a characteristic. While it can be directly determined, it can also

be determined by first measuring the centrality or the salience of a value and then comparing individuals or situations, and then one would speak of differential centrality or of differential salience.

We therefore assume a basic, comprehensive cultural inventory of values in a particular domain, ordered by centrality, ordered a second time by salience, and ordered several ways by differential effect according to particular criteria. Different interview questions lead to different orderings, or to particular subsets of the cultural inventory that are high or low on some particular ordering. These orderings may vary for different people and at different times. The orderings affect each other in some way but the nature of their interaction is still unspecified. The centrality of values within particular clusters may tend to be consistent across individuals, leading to the identification of dimensions of values according to centrality (e.g., through factor analysis). In principle similar dimensions can be identified according to salience and according to differential effect. As to the distinction between values and disvalues, there are conceptual and operational difficulties in treating both together. It is simpler to assume separate orderings of values and disvalues.

The content of values attached to children

A complete cultural inventory of the values and disvalues Filipino parents attach to children was not available for this survey, although the answers to the many questions asked could provide leads to such an inventory. For the limited portions of the inventory investigated, it is possible to describe the different orderings of values according to each criterion. Exhibits 2.2 and 2.3 summarize these orderings by presenting the values with the highest and lowest rankings.

For the ordering of values by centrality the VOC scales and the positive motivational (MH) items give fairly similar results (Exhibit 2.2). Incentive value, the highest rated VOC index, is close in meaning to sharing with children. No distinct VOC index corresponds to love between parent and child, so the match cannot be determined. Similarly, role expression is not matched among the positive motives. Family continuity obviously includes "children to survive self." The lowest ranked values in both cases, on the other hand, refer to satisfying social pressures to have children.

The ordering of values according to salience is different, partly because the categories differ. The most salient advantages are either vague and general or are concrete, practical concerns. Among the least salient, however, the category of social benefits corresponds to the

Exhibit 2.2 Values attached to children that are most and least prominent in centrality, salience, and differential effect

Prominence (continuum)	Centrality		Salience	Differential effect			
	VOC indices	Motivational items	(advantages)	Values attached to sons	Values attached to daughters	Values attached to having another child: Open-ended responses	Values attached to having another child: Motivational items
Most prominent	Incentive value	Love between parent and child	Happiness	Economic help	Help in housework	Companionship for siblings	Companionship for siblings
	Role expression	Sharing with children	Old-age assistance	Family name		Good number to have	Desire for a boy/girl
	Family continuity	Children to survive self	Help in housework			Guarantee against loss	Learning about life
		Learning about life				Desire for a boy/girl	
		Religious duty					Family name
		Satisfying spouse	Self-fulfillment				Economic help
Least prominent	External pressures	Satisfying relatives	Social benefits				Satisfying relatives

Exhibit 2.3 Disvalues attached to children that are most and least prominent in centrality, salience, and differential effect

Prominence (continuum)	Centrality (motivational items)	Salience (disadvantages)	Differential effect regarding additional children	
			Open-ended responses	Motivational items
Most prominent	Financial burden	Financial burden	Financial burden	Financial burden
	Overpopulation	Disciplinary problems	General rearing problems	Emotional strain
		Anxiety over child health and rearing		Work and bother
				Overpopulation
	Restriction of freedom	Physical work		Restriction of freedom
Least prominent	Less time with spouse	Pregnancy problems	Pregnancy problems	Less time with spouse

external pressures subscore. The data on differential effect regarding sons and daughters are skimpy and are included in the exhibit only for reference. On differential effect related to wanting additional children, the open-ended items and the positive motivational items agree pretty much in defining a distinct ordering. The main similarity to the centrality and salience orderings is that satisfying relatives is still at the bottom of the list.

Unlike the orderings of values, the orderings of disvalues are relatively similar (Exhibit 2.3). Financial problems rank highest on centrality, on salience, and on differential effect. Having less time for one's spouse ranks lowest on centrality and differential effect, and was seldom mentioned as a disadvantage of having children. There are nevertheless slight differences in the orderings: overpopulation is high on centrality but low in differential effect, restriction of freedom is low on centrality and differential effect but moderate on salience; disciplinary problems are high on salience but low on differential effect. Disvalues are less numerous and less elaborated, and perhaps to some extent less abstract and idealistic. That there may be less discrepancy between actual and ideal norms on the disvalues may account for the somewhat more parallel orderings.

3

factors affecting values and disvalues

The value structures and orderings just described were relatively stable across the different subgroups, with what differences existed being generally outweighed by the similarities. Nevertheless, there were some interesting subgroup differences, and this chapter focuses on them. It also relates the values and disvalues of children to other social and demographic characteristics of individuals, as well as to some measures of general cultural values.

Male-female contrasts

A number of differences in the values that male and female respondents attached to children have been pointed out. These differences should be seen as deviations from the general pattern, which stand out only when one suppresses the similarities. Most of them can be related to family structure and to the respective roles assigned to husband and wife.

Women scored significantly higher than men on the role expression component (VROLE), being more likely to see children as natural extensions of particular roles in the life cycle. They saw children as more central to their life purposes, their lives otherwise as dull without children, and self-sacrifice as more closely linked to the incentive value of children. The centrality of the mother role brings its problems, however: the difficulties of childrearing were more salient for female respondents, and were more often mentioned as reasons for not wanting

too many children. Related to these problems are the anxieties and emotional strains children cause and the reduced care that can be given to each child as the family grows. Women also assigned more importance to the survival of children to adulthood, as if they worried more often about child mortality. Problems connected with pregnancy were also of course more salient to women. Other disadvantages to which they were more sensitive are the restrictions that children impose on alternative activities and the time children take up. In making decisions about children, female respondents were more likely to consider the wife's job and alternate uses for one's money. On the other hand, they more often mentioned that both sons and daughters help around the house, and that sons help care for other children.

Women appear to balance expressive values with instrumental or utilitarian concerns (Parsons and Shils, 1951) and perhaps even put more emphasis on the latter. That is, the psychological rewards and emotional satisfactions of having children are considered in relation to such practical matters as children helping around the house and problems of child care. In contrast, men place more emphasis on particular expressive elements. Thus the male respondent was more likely to take pleasure in children's growth and pride in their accomplishments, to value a daughter (though not a son) for particular qualities of personality or behavior—though men were less likely than women to desire another child in order to have a girl—and to want a family that was not too small for the sake of having a happier family. Being free to express themselves openly with children was seen by men, but not by women, as an aspect of parental roles. It is doubtful whether male respondents had a stronger instrumental concern than women with economic costs: they did not score higher on costs of children (VCOST) and did not mention financial problems among the disadvantages of children more frequently than did female respondents.[1]

In addition to their other concerns, women were more likely to emphasize the need to have a family of the right size, with the proper combination of boys and girls, to provide adequate companionship among siblings. This value is apparently associated with their greater concern over having a harmonious environment for childrearing, and it may be seen as predominantly instrumental rather than expressive.

---

1 Men mentioned general financial problems more often than women as a reason for not desiring too many more children, but they also mentioned the cost of education less often, and these two categories more or less balance out. In general these situation-specific reasons were less reliable for comparing groups of respondents because only particular respondents answered each question.

One clearly expressive element to which women assigned greater centrality, though not salience, was the special kind of love that develops between parent and child. This way of looking at children involves more mutuality than the easy pride a man would take. One might say that the value women placed on children seemed to grow out of a more personal involvement with them. This should not be interpreted to mean that men's values were more instrumental (which they were not), but that men emphasized relatively shallower expressive values.

Regarding family continuity, men were more likely than women to mention preserving the family name, especially as a reason for having sons. The Tagalog family is said to be bilateral, and the mother's name may be used together with the father's, particularly in socially prominent families; but the father's name is still more important. Female respondents emphasized the continuity of family traditions rather than specifically the family name, and thus scored higher on family continuity. For men personal continuity and family continuity went together, but for women family continuity more often included preserving the bond between husband and wife.

As far as social pressures in favor of childbearing are concerned, women appeared to be more open to influence. They scored higher on external pressures (VPRES) and assigned more importance to religious duty, the spouse's desires, and the wishes of relatives. Social benefits of childbearing appear to have been more salient for men, but frequency of mention is so low as to be unreliable. For both sexes, however, social pressures were the least important reason for having children. That women assigned more importance than did men to overpopulation as a reason for not having more children may reflect their greater sensitivity to social pressure or the fact that family planning propaganda has been more frequently directed at women.

Urban-rural contrasts

Urban-rural differences are generally sharper than male-female differences. More rural than urban respondents rated most values attached to children as more important to themselves. They scored higher on most of the VOC indices, particularly family continuity, and they assigned greater importance to each of the motives for having another child. On the other hand, they did not score appreciably higher or lower than urban respondents on the importance assigned to disvalues.

Rural respondents attached more importance to and found somewhat more salient the economic advantages of children, including financial assistance, old-age support, and help around the house or

farm. They were more likely to mention the financial contribution that sons can make, and the help with housework they expected from daughters. More rural than urban respondents expected to rely a good deal on children in their old age, but the two groups hardly differed in their perceptions of the economic costs of children.

For urban respondents happiness, family harmony, and other psychological rewards of children were especially salient. Having fun with children, playing with them, and providing them with an adequate number of sibling playmates were given more weight relative to other values. Such personal rewards as maturation or character development through taking responsibility for children and the enjoyment of particular personality qualities of daughters were also more salient for urban than for rural respondents. (Urban and rural respondents did not differ in their desire for girls, but urban middle-class respondents placed less emphasis on having boys relative to having girls.) Similarly, urban respondents emphasized the emotional burdens of children, in particular the strains of raising them and problems connected with discipline. The contrast between economic and psychological values extends to urban and rural respondents' perceptions of the values held by other people. Urban respondents more frequently stated that others value happiness for the family, whereas rural respondents more frequently ascribed to others the desire for children to help the parents. Thus, rural respondents were found to value children for external, practical, mainly economic reasons. Apparently their value structures were less differentiated than those of urban respondents, and as a further consequence their responses to attitude items occasionally revealed less surface consistency. Urban respondents, in contrast, articulated a wider range of values.

One apparent inconsistency in the rural-urban comparison has to do with the effect children have on cementing the bond between husband and wife. For urban and especially urban middle-class respondents this bond was more salient than for rural respondents. Rural respondents assigned it more importance among motives for having another child, however, and also assigned more importance to the deleterious effects children can have on this bond, creating disagreement between spouses and reducing the time they can spend together. Rural respondents also included the marital bond among the values that make up family continuity. It may be that urban respondents found the marital bond enhanced psychologically by having children, whereas for rural respondents what was important was the effect of children on the status of the marriage, making the marriage firmer and more socially recognized. According to this interpretation, rural spouses would treat children

with less empathy and more impatience over the physical demands they make.

It has already been stated that urban-rural residence did not affect respondents' perceptions of the costs of children in general or of economic costs in particular. Nevertheless there are some differences in patterning. Rural respondents scored higher on decision-mindedness (VDECN), feeling a greater compulsion to weigh the costs, particularly the monetary costs, of children, even though they did not assign any greater importance to these costs than did urban respondents. On the other hand, the restrictions children impose were more salient to urban respondents, more of whom complained about the effects of children on their social life, on their freedom and flexibility, and on their capacity to satisfy their personal wants, though not on their job or career.

Regarding social pressures, it was asserted earlier that the rural resident tended to perceive himself in the context of ancestry and offspring, whereas the urban resident formed his kin group more on the basis of personal interests and compatibility. Rural respondents assigned more centrality to social pressures, as to most of the other values connected with children, and in particular they emphasized religious duty, though there was no difference between the two groups in salience. Urban respondents, on the other hand, were more responsive to population pressure and its problems.

As to differences between urban middle-class and urban lower-class respondents, the latter were closer in their outlook to rural respondents than the former. With respect to certain values, however, urban lower-class respondents were the most extreme. For instance, play and fun with children was much more salient for them than for the other two groups, but they assigned it less importance than did urban middle-class or rural respondents. Ironically, urban lower-class respondents may have been forced by circumstances to de-emphasize leisure activities with their children, but these accordingly became even more salient to them. Other differences form no readily decipherable pattern.

Determinants of value salience

Besides sex and residence, a number of other respondent characteristics can be shown to affect the salience of particular advantages and disadvantages of children. The reduced set of advantages and disadvantages was correlated with three sets of characteristics—social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and indices of general values (Exhibit 3.1 and Table 3.1).

Exhibit 3.1 Social-demographic measures and indices of general values used as predictors of values attached to children

Variable	Definition
Social status	
Education	Number of years of formal education
Income	Level of total monthly household income
Level of living	Number of household items owned, out of a 16-item list
Urbanism	Percentage of lifetime spent in urban areas
Media exposure	Frequency of obtaining information from newspapers and television (from never to daily)
Other social-demographic characteristics	
Age	Age in years
Marital duration	Duration of marriage, in months
Age at marriage	Age (in years) at first marriage
Pregnancy loss	Any previous miscarriage, abortion, or stillbirth (yes = 1, no = 0)
Wife currently working	Whether wife is currently working (yes = 1, no = 0)
Wife's employment history[a]	Number of years wife has been employed since marriage
General values	
Modernity	Total score on six items from the Smith-Inkeles Overall Modernity (OM) scale
Efficacy	Total internality score on six items from Rotter's Internal-External (I-E) scale (Likert rather than forced-choice format)
Fatalism	Number of times the response "It's up to fate" appears in a protocol (up to four questions could have evoked this response)
Religiosity	Respondent's self-evaluation, based on two questions: "How religious would you say you are?" and "How would you feel if your children didn't have any religious beliefs when they grow up?"

a This variable is not used in this chapter because it gives parallel results to "Wife currently working," but it will be used in later regression analyses and is included here for convenient reference.

Table 3.1 Correlations of advantages and disadvantages of children characteristics, and general values

Reduced set		Social status				
		Education	Income	Level of living	Urbanism	Media exposure
ADVANTAGES						
RA1	Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	.05	.03	-.02	-.00	-.01
RA2	Love, affection	.03	-.04	.01	-.02	.00
RA3	Play, relief from strain	.01	-.06	.02	.12	-.05
RA4	General happiness	.08	.12	.11	.05	.07
RA5	Maturity, adulthood, learning from childrearing	.21	.12	.14	.17	.13
RA6	Incentives to succeed	.22	.10	.15	.08	.08
RA7	Fulfillment, extension of self, own values	.07	.17	.08	-.01	.10
RA8	Pleasure in children's growth	-.10	-.09	-.10	-.01	-.11
RA9	To carry out parents' aspirations	-.03	-.04	-.08	-.10	.00
RA10	Assistance in old age	.01	-.06	-.09	.00	.11
RA11	Economic assistance, general help	-.17	-.04	-.13	-.07	-.06
RA12	Practical help with housework, farm	-.12	-.11	-.02	-.13	-.10
RA13	Bond between spouses; family life	.23	.21	.15	.13	.18
RA14	Family traditions, name	.04	-.06	-.03	.06	.05
RA15	Religious obligations	.07	.08	.08	.06	.10
RA16	Social benefits	.02	.09	.07	-.03	.04
DISADVANTAGES						
RD1	Educational costs	.08	.03	.01	.11	.08
RD2	Financial costs other than education	-.00	.08	-.00	.02	-.01
RD3	Responsibility of caring for children; health	.03	.04	-.02	.01	-.03
RD4	Discipline, moral behavior	.13	-.03	.07	.03	.10
RD5	General anxieties about children	.04	.00	-.06	.03	-.07
RD6	Noise, disorder, nuisance	-.03	-.03	-.00	-.02	.02

(reduced sets) with social status, other social-demographic

Other social-demographic characteristics					General values			
Age	Marital duration	Age at marriage	Pregnancy loss	Wife currently working	Modernity	Efficacy	Fatalism	Religiosity
-.01	-.01	-.02	-.09	-.02	.04	-.05	.02	.03
.09	.00	.07	.00	.01	.03	.02	.11	.07
-.05	-.01	-.06	.11	.04	.00	.05	-.05	-.07
-.09	-.12	.04	-.17	.06	-.02	.07	-.02	.07
.01	-.06	.10	.04	-.02	.08	.10	-.03	-.01
.03	-.05	.10	-.04	.05	.10	.11	-.02	.10
.10	.06	.05	.07	.11	.13	.15	-.08	-.01
-.02	-.00	-.01	.00	-.10	-.05	.04	-.02	.03
-.01	-.11	.06	-.02	-.12	.04	.08	.02	-.05
-.01	-.07	.04	-.03	-.01	.06	-.01	-.02	-.01
.03	.20	-.17	.00	-.06	-.09	.04	-.07	.04
.06	.16	-.09	.02	-.06	-.06	-.02	.07	.10
-.03	-.11	.10	.04	.14	.05	.08	-.06	.04
.05	-.01	.09	-.01	-.03	.08	-.03	-.06	.07
.06	.10	-.03	.03	.03	-.01	-.01	-.01	.07
.09	.04	.09	-.04	.11	.08	-.02	-.07	-.07
-.03	.02	-.08	-.02	.01	.08	.04	.05	.01
.12	.07	.04	.02	.03	-.04	-.00	-.12	-.09
-.02	-.01	.01	.09	.11	.02	.01	-.06	-.01
-.01	-.03	.03	-.03	-.02	.04	.14	-.02	.08
-.09	-.07	-.07	-.03	.08	-.08	-.05	-.04	-.08
-.01	.06	-.06	-.08	-.02	-.01	-.03	-.00	-.08

Table 3.1 *(continued)*

Reduced set		Social status				
		Education	Income	Level of living	Urbanism	Media exposure
DISADVANTAGES *(continued)*						
RD7	Pregnancy, maternal health problems	-.02	.06	.03	.04	.06
RD8	Physical work due to children	-.01	.13	.03	-.06	-.00
RD9	Restrictions on personal wants, own time, freedom	.10	.13	.11	.09	.07
RD10	Restrictions on social life	-.04	-.00	-.05	.03	.04
RD11	Restrictions on job, career	.06	.04	.04	-.06	-.01

Higher social status (as reflected by education, income, level of living, urban experience, and media exposure) is related to increased salience of the contribution of children to the bond between spouses, to the parents' becoming more mature, and as incentives to succeed, and to reduced salience of practical and household help and financial contributions. For each value the correlation is strongest with education, though there is some correlation with most of the status characteristics. Higher status seems to be related to a more sophisticated perception of interpersonal relations, to a greater appreciation of the psychological impact of one person upon another. The three values that increase in salience with status all reflect a greater awareness of psychological causality. For respondents low in status, on the other hand, and particularly for those with less education, the most concrete advantages of children have greater salience. One problematic value is taking pleasure in children's growth, which would seem to reflect psychological sophistication but which decreases in salience with education, level of living, and media exposure. Perhaps the expression of this value is more a cliché than a reflection of insight, or perhaps it indicates a passive possessiveness, not adequately conveyed in the label, that is the antithesis of empathy.

Other values increase in salience with one or another status characteristic, but not with the set as a whole. Interest in fulfillment and extension of the self through children increases with income, as if it were

Other social-demographic characteristics					General values			
Age	Marital duration	Age at marriage	Pregnancy loss	Wife currently working	Modernity	Efficacy	Fatalism	Religiosity
.02	-.02	.03	-.01	-.00	-.14	-.02	.01	.01
-.07	-.05	-.04	-.06	-.05	-.01	-.04	.04	-.02
-.07	-.05	-.04	-.04	-.06	.08	-.03	-.08	.05
-.05	.03	-.09	.04	-.08	-.06	-.11	-.01	.10
-.10	-.12	.01	-.06	.06	.02	.01	-.07	.01

the privilege of the moneyed class to concern itself with personal immortality. Higher income and higher levels of living are also related to more frequent mention of general happiness and restrictions on personal wants, and higher income is related to more frequent complaints about the physical work involved in caring for children. Better-off respondents could afford the luxury of concerning themselves with personal whims and avoiding anything that seemed like manual labor.

More education and media exposure relate to a greater concern about discipline and moral behavior. Education may itself breed conscious discipline in this generation of parents, as opposed to unthinking compliance with the hidden hand of tradition. Urban experience is related to greater concern with play and relief from strain and with problems of educating children. Both these values may be indications of urban pressures, of the need for avenues of escape for the parents and for more education in order to compete more effectively for the children. Respondents with more urban experience mentioned less frequently than others the role of children in carrying out parents' aspirations, perhaps out of greater awareness of diverse careers open to the young or of their reluctance to follow parental dictates. Urban experience as a variable, which is scored as the percentage of one's life spent in an urban area, thus behaves somewhat differently from the urban-rural dichotomy based on present residence. Media exposure is positively associated with two other values, assistance in old age and reli-

gious obligations. It is possible that these are the values most reflected and sanctified in the media, which, one should note, include comics and soap operas.

Aside from status-related characteristics, other demographic characteristics were investigated in their effects. Three interrelated variables—current age, duration of marriage, and age at first marriage—are related to different sets of values. Duration of marriage generally has the strongest relationships. It relates to increased salience of economic assistance and of practical help and to decreased salience of general happiness. Current age does not relate to any of these. The pattern seems to be that those married longer have more practical and concrete expectations of children, which make them more similar to rural than to urban respondents. Duration of marriage is also related to religious obligations, another traditional value. It seems less likely that the association is the effect of the number of years spent in marriage, and more likely that it results from a difference between cohorts—between an older, more traditional generation that has been married longer and a younger, more happiness-oriented generation married a shorter time. That age does not correlate with these traditional values may be due to a peculiarity of the sample: older respondents were not less educated than younger respondents, as one would expect, and were often in fact those who had married late (the correlation between current age and age at first marriage being .54). Thus the older respondents may not have been entirely representative of the older generation, and sorting respondents by duration of marriage may produce a better generational distinction. Duration of marriage also relates to reduced salience of children's fulfilling parents' aspirations, of the bond between spouses, and of the restrictions that children impose on one's job. (The last value is also related inversely to age.) A plausible interpretation is that with more years of married life, parents' early aspirations for their children are replaced by a more realistic appreciation of the children's potentialities, the marital bond becomes less dependent on children as a prop, and either children no longer interfere with the parents' work or older children are now available to look after the younger.

Age alone is related to a slight increase in salience of financial costs, but not of educational costs; this finding is not easy to interpret. Also more salient for older respondents are self-fulfillment through children and children as an extension of self, concerns one would generally expect to develop later in life. Age at first marriage affects three values in ways that can be interpreted with reference to the life cycle: matu-

rity and learning from children and incentives to succeed increase in salience, and expected economic assistance decreases. Those who marry later (for the Philippine sample the mean age was 23) are more stable economically and psychologically, less dependent on children for financial assistance, and more goal-oriented and capable of learning from children.

Two variables having to do with personal experience were introduced into the correlation matrix as dummy variables. Pregnancy loss distinguishes respondents who had had or whose wives had had a stillbirth, miscarriage, or abortion, and wife currently working distinguishes those wives who were employed at the time of the survey or those husbands whose wives were currently employed. Pregnancy loss is related to decreased salience of general happiness and increased salience of play and relief from strain; it is unrelated to any of the other child values. Wife currently working is related to greater salience of fulfillment and less salience of aspirations through children. This finding indicates that female respondents who worked and male respondents whose wives worked were less likely than others to project their ambitions onto their children. Wife currently working is also associated with greater importance being attached to the problems of caring for children, particularly health problems, and to the bond between spouses. A possible interpretation of the last finding is that the wife's employment may lead to greater stress in a couple's relationship, which children could counteract.

Finally, four different measures of general cultural values were correlated with the advantages and disadvantages of children. Modernity, as measured by six items from the Smith-Inkeles (1966) Overall Modernity (OM) scale, is generally a poor predictor, although it is related to less salience of the physical problems of pregnancy and more salience of fulfillment and the extension of self. Personal efficacy, the sense that one controls one's life circumstances, as indexed by six Internal-External scale items (Rotter, 1966), is also related to fulfillment, and to incentives to succeed and disciplinary problems, values consistent with a view of oneself as taking control, extending the self, and achieving one's goals. Efficacy is related to restrictions on social life but not to job restrictions. Fatalism, scored as the number of times respondents answered particular questions by saying that it is up to God or up to fate, is related to more frequent mention of love and affection, which may be considered a cliché, and to less frequent mention of financial costs. Religiosity, which was self-rated, paradoxically does not correlate with religious obligations, but is related to greater

Table 3.2 Correlations of VOC indices with social status, other social-

	Social status					Other
Index	Education	Income	Level of living	Urbanism	Media exposure	Age
Family continuity	-.28	-.19	-.22	-.24	-.12	-.03
Costs of children	-.17	-.09	-.13	-.07	-.09	.03
Role expression	-.19	-.08	-.16	-.08	-.03	-.05
Decision-mindedness	-.21	-.13	-.18	-.21	-.08	-.01
Incentive value	.07	.08	.03	-.05	-.05	.04
Emotional rewards	-.20	-.02	-.03	-.12	-.04	.01
Parental satisfactions	-.07	.00	-.06	-.09	-.09	.05
External pressures	-.21	-.04	-.07	-.10	-.04	.02
Mean agreement across 45 VOC items	-.31	-.12	-.22	-.24	-.13	-.01

awareness of incentives to succeed and restrictions on social life. Except for efficacy, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5, there is no compelling pattern to the effects of these general values.

Determinants of value centrality

Particular social characteristics need not affect value salience and value centrality in the same way, and at first glance they appear not to (Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4). While the less educated did not score any higher or lower than the more educated on value salience overall, they scored consistently higher on value centrality for most values and disvalues. That is, when values were presented to them to rate in importance, they consistently gave higher ratings than the more educated. The same pattern can be observed in other status characteristics, particularly level of living. Two main explanations are possible: the less educated may actually value children more highly, but pressed by lower incomes may also assign more importance to disvalues, although they may be less articulate about specific advantages and disadvantages; or the less educated may have a greater tendency to agree with attitude statements in order to be agreeable. A two-item measure of social-desirability set does not correlate with education or income—the validity of the measure is somewhat doubtful—but mean level of

demographic characteristics, and general values

social-demographic characteristics				General values				
Marital duration	Age at marriage	Pregnancy loss	Wife currently working	Modernity	Efficacy	Fatalism	Religiosity	Mean agreement across 45 VOC items
.00	-.07	-.05	-.16	-.10	-.14	.03	.02	.77
.07	-.08	-.04	.00	-.11	-.32	-.09	-.03	.41
.02	-.12	.01	-.01	.00	.04	.00	-.02	.63
-.02	-.01	-.04	-.12	-.02	-.01	-.02	.05	.51
-.00	.05	-.03	-.11	.13	.11	-.13	.01	.27
.11	-.10	.01	-.05	-.08	-.09	.03	-.00	.59
.01	.02	.05	-.07	.04	.03	-.02	.02	.56
.07	-.08	-.04	-.03	-.20	-.27	.06	-.03	.58
.05	-.11	-.04	-.10	-.12	-.20	-.02	.01	1.00

agreement with the 45 VOC items (which may indicate either an agreement set or a higher valuation of children, there being many more positively than negatively phrased items), correlates -.31 with education. The evidence, then, is somewhat ambiguous, and it may be that both explanations are partially correct.

If one controls for this overall negative relationship between education and value centrality, either formally by partialling out the effect of level of agreement or informally by simply adding a constant of about .10 to all correlations, the pattern of values and disvalues affected by education begins to resemble the pattern for value salience. Those values most negatively affected are family continuity; a subset of the positive motivational (MH) items related to family continuity (children for security in old age, for financial assistance, to survive to adulthood, to strengthen the marriage, because of religious duty, and to carry on the family name and traditions); decision-mindedness (VDECN), which reflects pressure to weigh the financial costs of children; and the desire not to have additional children because of the work and bother. These concerns are relatively concrete and practical, the same kind of concerns that decrease in salience with education. Those values most positively affected (or least negatively affected) by education are the incentive value of children (VINCT)—for which the

Table 3.3 Correlations of motives for having another child with social

Motive		Social status				
		Education	Income	Level of living	Urbanism	Media exposure
1	I enjoy having a small baby	-.07	-.07	-.13	-.14	-.05
2	To help carry on our family name and traditions	-.18	-.11	-.12	-.09	-.02
3	I want to have a boy, another boy	-.09	-.04	-.13	-.10	-.13
4	I want to have a girl, another girl	-.02	-.03	-.03	-.15	-.06
5	Some relatives feel that I should have more children	-.13	-.02	-.10	-.14	-.03
6	To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	-.21	-.15	-.22	-.24	-.12
7	It is my religious duty to have more children	-.21	-.14	-.22	-.24	-.14
8	So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	-.30	-.23	-.27	-.24	-.15
9	Having another child will make my marriage stronger	-.16	-.14	-.18	-.15	-.08
10	To provide a companion for my child, children	-.01	-.01	-.02	-.17	-.07
11	I enjoy caring for and raising children	-.12	-.04	-.15	-.20	-.06
12	My spouse wants more children	-.08	-.06	-.07	-.20	-.09
13	It is fun to have children around the house	-.07	-.03	-.09	-.16	-.06
14	Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	-.09	-.09	-.15	-.15	-.11
15	I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and child	-.06	-.02	-.06	-.13	-.04
16	I want to share what I have and what I know with children	-.07	-.04	-.08	-.11	-.08
17	I want to be sure to have enough children survive to adulthood	-.23	-.17	-.16	-.26	-.16

status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values

Other social-demographic characteristics					General values			
Age	Marital duration	Age at marriage	Pregnancy loss	Wife currently working	Modernity	Efficacy	Fatalism	Religiosity
-.13	-.23	.08	-.02	-.08	-.00	.05	.10	.03
.00	-.08	.05	-.00	-.10	-.03	.03	.09	.01
-.14	-.25	.09	-.04	-.07	-.02	-.00	.10	.04
-.19	-.30	.10	-.10	-.02	-.07	-.03	.02	-.00
-.10	-.06	-.04	-.05	-.04	-.04	-.08	-.01	.00
-.16	-.19	-.02	-.11	-.09	-.11	-.07	.00	-.00
-.10	-.08	-.04	-.10	-.11	-.13	-.11	.08	-.03
-.05	-.03	-.06	-.07	-.18	-.13	-.10	.05	-.03
-.14	-.17	-.00	-.04	-.06	-.06	-.06	.08	-.02
-.19	-.32	.13	-.11	-.04	-.03	.02	.00	.02
-.05	-.18	.10	.00	-.09	-.02	.01	.07	-.02
-.05	-.18	.14	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.05	.04	-.01
-.08	-.18	.09	.00	.03	-.02	.01	.07	.02
-.12	-.28	.13	-.04	.02	-.01	-.03	.02	.01
-.16	-.26	.07	-.06	.00	-.02	.02	-.00	.01
-.11	-.22	.08	-.01	-.03	.03	.07	.02	-.02
-.13	-.16	-.02	-.09	-.12	-.10	-.12	-.01	-.01

Table 3.4 Correlations of motives for not having another child with values

Motive	Social status				
	Education	Income	Level of living	Urbanism	Media exposure
1 Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	-.13	-.11	-.13	-.06	-.01
2 My spouse does not want any more children	-.22	-.11	-.20	-.04	-.05
3 Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	-.16	.01	-.13	-.06	-.08
4 Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	-.20	-.05	-.13	-.05	-.10
5 I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	-.20	.00	-.14	-.16	-.07
6 I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	.07	.05	.04	.03	.06
7 Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	-.17	-.04	-.09	-.06	-.06
8 I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	-.10	.07	-.04	-.06	-.04
9 Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	-.19	-.09	-.18	-.09	-.12

partial correlation with degree of agreement controlled rises to .17; parental satisfactions (VSATS); such motivational items as the desire for sibling companionship for children, the special love between parent and child, and the desire to share possessions and knowledge with children; and, among disvalues, the demands that additional children make on one's capacity for care and attention. These values reflect the sophistication about psychological causality that increases in salience with education. A few correlations do not fit into this interpretive pattern, principally the decline, with increasing education, of the importance attached to children's limiting the time husband and wife spend together and creating strains between them, and to emotional rewards of children (VEMOT). The emotional rewards index stands for dependence on children to fill a gap in one's life and may be just as anti-empathic a value as taking pleasure in children's growth appeared

social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general

Other social-demographic characteristics					General values			
Age	Marital duration	Age at marriage	Pregnancy loss	Wife currently working	Modernity	Efficacy	Fatalism	Religiosity
.13	.19	-.06	.06	.04	-.00	-.09	-.03	-.08
.12	.10	.00	-.02	-.06	-.07	-.17	.00	-.01
.00	.03	-.05	.01	-.07	-.13	-.27	-.04	-.06
-.02	.08	-.13	-.04	-.05	-.13	-.27	-.06	-.04
-.02	.02	-.03	-.02	-.08	-.05	-.21	-.02	-.04
.01	.00	.01	.02	-.05	.08	-.09	-.03	.02
.05	.12	-.11	-.03	-.08	-.09	-.31	-.01	-.04
.00	.03	-.04	-.08	.00	-.02	-.28	-.10	-.02
.04	.10	-.08	-.02	-.03	-.07	-.23	-.04	-.09

to be earlier. Problems between spouses may be more significant for those lower in education because of less interpersonal skill or because the spouse's desires are less internalized and less subject to negotiation, more arbitrary and external. The educated also are more resistant to external pressures (VPRES), including their spouse's desires, but rate overpopulation as relatively more important, if agreement set is controlled.

The correlations between income and value centrality form a parallel but weaker pattern, with a few differences. External pressures and emotional rewards do not decline in importance with income, nor does the spouse's desire to stop childbearing. If one controls for agreement set, then restrictions on freedom, the emotional strain of childrearing, and the work and bother of children may actually increase. This finding parallels results for value salience.

Urbanism generally follows education and income. More than the other characteristics, however, it is related to less importance of fun around the house, enjoyment of a small baby, and the special love between parent and child. These inverse relationships are problematic, since from the correlations with value salience one would expect them to be positive. Urbanism is also related to more importance of the spouse's not wanting more children and less importance of the spouse's wanting more children. Media exposure is related negatively to religious duty and old-age assistance, whereas for salience the relationships were reversed. Media exposure has relatively fewer correlates than the other status characteristics.

Age and duration of marriage have slight effect on the VOC subscores. Duration of marriage is positively related to greater importance being assigned to emotional rewards (VEMOT), which are also negatively related to age at first marriage. Respondents who had married younger and were married longer were more likely to agree that life without children was dull. Those married younger also placed more importance on role expression (VROLE). The motivational ratings (MH and MN) are related to age and duration of marriage, but that is mostly because the motives are parity-specific, varying with the number of children one already has. With parity controlled, only two motives still correlate: old-age assistance declines with age and duration of marriage, presumably because older respondents expected to need assistance sooner and could not count on additional children to be in a position to supply it; and sharing possessions and knowledge with children declines in importance with duration of marriage, because those married longer had already had opportunities to share things with their children.

Age at marriage relates to greater concern for several of the positive motives, the spouse's desire for more children, learning about life through children, and enjoying raising them, and to less importance being assigned to two negative motives, the work and bother of raising children and the emotional strain. In interpreting the relationship of age at marriage to value salience, we earlier suggested that respondents who married later may have been more mature psychologically and better able to handle, appreciate, and learn from their interpersonal relations; this interpretation seems to be supported here. Pregnancy loss has only weak effects on value importance. Wife currently working, on the other hand, leads to a significant decline in the importance of family continuity, including economic assistance from children, and also in decision-mindedness (VDECN). This relationship is understand-

able, since the wife's income would reduce the need of respondents to depend on their children. Wife currently working also relates to less importance being placed on the incentive value of children (VINCT), since working wives may have other incentives to work or may draw incentive from the job itself, and it relates to less importance being placed on religious duty and having enough children to survive.

Among the measures of general cultural values, modernity and efficacy have similar correlates. Both relate to the reduced importance of the costs of children (VCOST), the work and bother associated with them, and the way they restrict parents' freedom. Efficacy alone leads to reduced importance of the emotional strain of childrearing, the limitations additional children impose on the attention one can give to other children, and problems children cause between husband and wife. The more efficacious and more modern respondents apparently considered themselves better able to handle such costs and less economically dependent on their children than other respondents, since they assigned less importance to financial contributions (and in particular to old-age assistance among the more modern). These individuals were also less influenced by external pressures (VPRES) and by religion but placed more importance on the incentive value of children (VINCT). They were usually more confident that their children would survive to adulthood. Efficacy, but not overall modernity, is related to a lower rating for family continuity. The fatalism score has no strong relationships, except possibly a negative association with incentive value (VINCT). Religiosity does not correlate with a single value, not even with the religious duty to have children.

Value salience and value centrality often seem to have the same roots, but there are some striking and unexplained exceptions. In general the most significant causes of differences in value structure appear to be education, level of living, urban versus rural residence, duration of marriage, and efficacy.

4

perceptions of the economic utility of children

Economic considerations were found to be prominent among the values and disvalues of children. These economic factors will be considered more extensively and responses to some other questionnaire items on the economic utility of children will be covered in this chapter. In Chapter 3 economic utilities were usually discussed as they apply to children in general, but the focus here will be on the utilities attached to the respondents' own children. While it is important to see economic utilities in the context of all the other rewards and costs of children, it may also be instructive to isolate them for more detailed study.

Economic benefits of children

Among the advantages of children mentioned by Filipino respondents, three economic benefits were salient: assistance in old age, help in housework or family chores, and contribution to the family finances (Table 4.1). Assistance in old age was considered the most important of the three, and in fact the most important of all the advantages respondents spontaneously mentioned. Assistance with household chores was frequently mentioned, but it was seldom considered very important. Contributing to family finances even before the parents retire and related responses having to do with general help were mentioned with almost equal frequency.

Table 4.1 Measures of the perceived economic benefits of children

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Old-age assistance						
Percentage mentioning assistance in old age (RA10) among advantages of children	54	55	58	54	57	56
Mean level of agreement with "A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work" (VOC 2)[a]	5.8	6.3	6.7	6.4	6.1	6.3
Percentage rating a child to help in old age (MH6) as a very important consideration	47	56	80	66	54	61
Percentage expecting to rely on children in old age	71	85	89	83	79	82
Percentage expecting to rely "a good deal" on children in old age	15	17	50	27	27	27
Financial contributions						
Percentage mentioning economic assistance or general help (RA11) among advantages of children	32	37	43	42	32	37
Percentage mentioning financial contributions as the reason for wanting sons	16	16	44	27	24	26
Percentage mentioning financial contributions as the main type of help expected from their own sons	38	37	54	50	35	43
Percentage mentioning financial contributions as the main type of help expected from their own daughters	11	11	18	13	14	13
Percentage rating "one more person to help our family economically" (MH8) as a very important consideration	36	43	68	50	47	49
Percentage expecting financial assistance from children given appropriate circumstances	86	95	98	96	89	93
Percentage expecting financial assistance regardless of circumstances	58	64	87	74	64	69

Table 4.1 *(continued)*

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Household and practical help						
Percentage mentioning practical help with housework or on farm (RA12) among advantages of children	36	39	50	47	36	42
Percentage mentioning practical help as the reason for wanting sons	11	16	14	16	11	13
Percentage mentioning practical help as the reason for wanting daughters	64	69	81	76	66	71
Percentage mentioning practical help as the main type of help expected from their own sons	12	8	7	10	8	9
Percentage mentioning practical help as the main type of help expected from their own daughters	33	33	47	43	32	38
General						
Percentage expecting help from their own sons	62	61	82	74	62	68
Percentage expecting help from their own daughters	54	55	76	68	54	61
Mean score on composite measure of expected help[b]	11.7	12.9	15.0	13.7	12.6	13.2
Mean score on composite measure of perceived decline in utility of children[c]	4.79	4.94	3.30	4.40	4.30	4.35

NOTE: Percentages are based on total sample.

a Possible scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

b Possible scores range from 1 to 17.

c Possible scores range from 1 to 9.

Although highly salient, none of these economic benefits ranked high on centrality, as indexed by the VOC and the motivational (MH) items. From the VOC items, in fact, no factor emerged relating specifically to the economic advantages of having children. This is partly because such items were not adequately represented, but there may be other reasons. Among the positive motives for having another child, old-age assistance and financial contributions were included, and here

they ranked only fifth and tenth respectively out of 17 motives. Other noneconomic values, such as love between parent and child and the incentive value of children, appear to be more central in the hierarchy of values.

When general reasons for having sons and having daughters were distinguished, economic concerns were most salient in both cases: for sons, financial contributions were mentioned by 26 percent of respondents, for daughters help in housework by 71 percent. Only a few respondents mentioned help in old age. When asked directly about their own sons and daughters, the majority (68 percent for sons, 61 percent for daughters) affirmed that they expected some economic or practical help from them. From their own sons, the most frequently expected form of assistance was financial (43 percent of all respondents), followed by household or practical help (9 percent). For daughters, the emphasis was reversed: the expected assistance tended to be household help (38 percent), followed by financial contributions (13 percent). Economic assistance in old age was not mentioned, having apparently little differential effect between boys and girls.

Respondents were therefore asked what sources of financial support they expected to depend on in their old age (Table 4.2). The most frequently mentioned source of support was children (62 percent), followed by their own savings (42 percent), but slightly more respondents expected to rely heavily on savings than on children. None of the other

Table 4.2 Expected reliance on various sources of financial support in old age

Source of support	Percentage who mentioned source	Percentage who would rely on source a great deal
Children	62	24
Savings	42	27
Continued employment	15	10
Investments, business, rents	15	9
Social security, pensions	13	9
Agricultural land	13	7
Other relatives	8	1
Insurance	6	4
Inheritance	6	4

possible sources of support compares with these two in salience. As discussed in the previous chapter, half of those who did not spontaneously mention children admitted, when directly questioned about it, that they expected support from children in their old age. Altogether, therefore, 82 percent of the respondents expected to rely at least a little during their old age on economic assistance from their children.

This degree of reliance on children can be compared with expectations of receiving some money from children from time to time even before retirement. Only 7 percent of respondents definitely did not expect to receive any money from their children. Others qualified their answers. Nine percent expected a financial contribution only if their children continued to live with them, and 14 percent said it would depend on other factors, such as their need for help; but fully 69 percent expected financial contributions regardless of such contingencies (Table 4.1).

Given such high expectations of the economic contributions children can and should make, it was pertinent to ask respondents whether children are likely to fulfill those expectations (Table 4.3). In the view of a substantial majority of respondents, children today are just as willing or more willing than the previous generation was. This finding was unexpected, and it may be that some of those who emphasized children's willingness to help out economically were not so much comparing generations as giving the socially desirable answer, which implied that their children had learned their responsibilities to their parents.

Although different numbers of respondents emphasized each of the economic benefits of children, there was a tendency for those who emphasized any one of them to attach importance to the others as well. For instance, when scores are assigned for the question of reliance on children in old age and for the question of expected financial contributions, responses to the two questions correlate at .22. Open-ended responses do not agree so well, but most of the other indices discussed in this section correlate at the .22 level or higher. A composite index of expected economic help from children was formed from these responses[1] (Table 4.1). A second index of the decline in the willingness of children to contribute economically, or the perceived increase in their disutility, was also formed, and this had the predictable negative correlation with expected economic help (-.20).

1. The expected help index includes expected help from sons, expected help from daughters, expected help in old age, and items MH6 (to have a child to help me in old age), MH8 (one more person to help family economically), and VOC2 (help in old age).

Table 4.3 Perceived changes in the economic utility of children over time

(Percentage of respondents who said children are more, less, or just as willing nowadays to assist parents)

Type of assistance	More willing	Just as willing	Less willing	Depends on circumstances, don't know
To give part of wages to parents	34	30	19	17
To support parents in old age	41	32	11	16
To help with chores around house, on farm, or in business	46	30	14	10

Economic costs of children

Among the disvalues attached to children economic costs were clearly dominant (Table 4.4). On both centrality and salience the financial burden of children was the most prominent disvalue. Two out of three respondents mentioned financial problems, including educational costs, among the disadvantages of having children, and two out of three also strongly agreed with the VOC item stating that most people find raising children to be a heavy financial burden (78 percent in all agreed). Half considered the financial costs a very important reason for not having additional children themselves. It is apparent that economic motives were the strongest reasons these respondents had for limiting their families.

Exactly how strong these motives were is difficult to gauge. An attempt was made to determine how much money respondents had spent on their children over the 12 months preceding the survey. One in five of the respondents could not even hazard a guess, and the estimates given were extremely variable, ranging from ₱100 to ₱45,000. The median estimate was ₱1,500, or fully 32 percent of the median family income of ₱4,680 for this sample. It is difficult to tell whether estimates were too low or too high or what costs respondents included in and excluded from their estimates. A majority (54 percent) considered their incomes adequate for the needs of their families, and an additional 6 percent considered them more than adequate; but a large group of respondents (40 percent) said they could not meet all their families' needs. For the last group it would have been instructive to ask what priority the expenses for children had in relation to other

Table 4.4 Measures of the perceived economic costs of children

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
General financial costs						
Percentage mentioning financial costs other than education (RD2) among disadvantages of children	50	46	44	47	46	46
Mean level of agreement with "Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people"[a] (VOC 37)	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.3	5.5	5.4
Mean score on costs of children (VCOST)[a]	4.02	4.47	4.22	4.30	4.16	4.23
Percentage rating the financial burden of another child (MN1) as a very important consideration	47	53	54	51	51	51
Percentage mentioning children as the main reason for saving	46	46	53	46	50	48
Educational costs						
Percentage mentioning educational costs (RD1) among disadvantages of children	24	25	18	24	21	22
Percentage considering educational costs a somewhat heavy but not very heavy burden	62	64	64	64	62	63
Percentage considering educational costs a very heavy burden	11	23	29	22	21	21
Costs and desired numbers						
Mean number of children considered somewhat of an economic burden	3.7	3.2	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.5
Mean number of children considered a heavy burden	5.3	4.5	5.2	4.9	5.1	5.0
Percentage who would want more children if their income doubled	27	13	21	20	21	21
Percentage who would want fewer children if their income were halved	54	42	25	43	38	41
Percentage believing that more children make a family better off	10	16	20	14	18	15
Percentage believing that more children make a family worse off	83	74	61	71	74	73

a Possible scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

family expenses. Although we have no data on priorities in relation to expenses, we did ask respondents about their priorities in allocating savings. Almost half mentioned the children or children's education as the main purpose of savings (Table 4.5). An additional 43 percent said they saved for emergencies or "for the future," and some of these may also have had their children in mind. Only 4 percent mentioned saving for their old age, and only 1 percent said they saved in order to start a business, buy a farm, or for similar reasons. Apparently children received high priority in comparison with the parents' own needs and interests, and parents consequently expected much economic assistance in return.

Looking specifically at the cost of education may be worthwhile because this is one factor that increases considerably in importance with socioeconomic development, and because educating their children is a major aspiration of many Filipino parents. In fact, 85 percent of the respondents expected their sons to finish college, and 81 percent expected their daughters to reach at least that educational level (Table 4.4). Half the respondents were uncertain, however, that their children would achieve the respondents' educational goals and admitted that there was only "a chance" that they would. Education was seen as a very heavy economic burden (21 percent) or as fairly easy to manage (16 percent). Some of these estimates may have been based on current expenses for education, which were probably moderate because respondents' children were still young. Despite their high aspirations, respondents did not view their children's education as the major financial

Table 4.5 Perceived financial burden of different numbers of children
(Percentage of respondents who said raising specified numbers would be fairly easy, somewhat of a burden, and a heavy burden)

Number of children	Fairly easy	Somewhat of a burden	Heavy burden
1	94	5	1
2	79	19	2
3	46	43	11
4	22	40	38
5	8	27	65
6	3	8	89

problem. If the government were to provide free education up to college, thus reducing the expenses to parents of childrearing, only a few respondents (15 percent) would decide to have additional children.

We also asked respondents how many children would constitute a financial burden for them. Only one in five said that two children constituted a burden, and almost half stated that three children were fairly easy to raise (Table 4.5). On the other hand, 78 percent considered four children somewhat of a burden. Almost all (92 percent) considered five children to be somewhat of a burden, and nearly two-thirds rated that number as a heavy burden. The dividing line between financial ease and hardship of childrearing seems to lie between three and four children; this finding accords with a mean parity of 3.2 and a mean ideal family size of 3.9 for this group of parents.

Respondents were asked how a change in their income level would affect the number of children they desired. Twenty percent said that if their family income doubled, they would want a larger family, but the rest said they would not modify their desires. If their income were halved, on the other hand, 41 percent would want a smaller family (Table 4.4). Desired number of children was thus more sensitive to a decrease than to an increase in income, at least hypothetically, though in reality it is more difficult to reduce one's family size than to increase it. Rainwater (1960) has asserted that couples follow the norm of having as many children as they can afford, but not more than that number. Our findings suggest that Rainwater's norm is inaccurate for the Philippines, that either most respondents set, for noneconomic reasons, an upper limit on the number of children they wanted, or that they wanted more than they could afford, so that some increase in income need not give them the latitude to have additional children.

How the different costs and benefits balance is partly indicated by the answers to one final question on the economic impact of children:

> Some couples feel that the more children they have, the better off the family will be economically. Others feel that having a lot of children will make their family less well-off. How do you personally feel about this?

Seventy-three percent said that having many children made a family worse off, indicating that, if economic factors are considered apart from other factors, costs will usually outweigh benefits (Table 4.4). Four percent said it made no difference, 15 percent asserted that larger families were better off, and 8 percent said that the large family was worse off in the beginning but better off in the long run. It appears that a sizable minority saw economic justification for having

a large family, but some of these respondents may have been thinking of noneconomic rewards.

Attaching importance to the economic costs of children is not incompatible with appreciating the economic benefits. In fact the composite index of expected economic help from children correlates positively with several measures of costs (Table 4.6). Nevertheless, the economic impact of children is judged by the ratio of benefits to costs, being considered more favorable as expected economic help increases and less favorable as the financial burden of children (MN1) becomes more important (the respective correlations are .14 and -.14). On the other hand, the number of children considered a very heavy economic burden, which increases with a more favorable perception of economic impact, is more sensitive to benefits than to costs.

Differential perceptions of economic utilities

Male and female respondents differed in their perceptions of the economic benefits of children but had quite similar perceptions of the costs. Urban and rural respondents differed more strongly in their estimation of the benefits but hardly differed on costs either (Tables 4.1 and 4.4).

As we have already seen (Chapter 3), women were much more conscious than men of the practical contributions of children, particularly around the house. They had perhaps slightly more awareness of the potential financial contributions children can make, an awareness that could be explained by the woman's usual role as custodian of the family purse. Old-age assistance was not clearly more important nor more salient for either sex. Overall, more women than men admitted to expecting some economic or practical help from their sons and daughters (74 versus 62 percent for sons, 68 versus 54 percent for daughters). From the lack of significant differences between men and women on measures of economic costs, one might expect children to be considered more of a net plus, in an economic sense, by women, but the sexes did not differ on whether children make the family better off or worse off. Perhaps the differences in their perceptions of benefits were too slight to affect their assessment of the net economic contribution of children to the family; or perhaps expected household help, which was the most consistent differential factor, was not usually weighed in the economic equation.

We noted in Chapter 3 that rural respondents put greater emphasis than urban respondents on the economic benefits of children. Impor-

Table 4.6 Correlations between indices of the economic utility of children

	Benefits		Costs			Impact	
Index	Expected help	Decline in utility	Costs of children (VCOST)	Burden of education[a]	Burden of another child	Number considered heavy burden	Economic impact[b]
Expected help	1.00						
Decline in utility	-.20	1.00					
Costs of children (VCOST)	.17	.04	1.00				
Burden of education[a]	.18	-.05	.23	1.00			
Burden of another child	.04	-.07	.25	.10	1.00		
Number considered heavy burden	.10	-.11	-.08	-.07	-.09	1.00	
Economic impact[b]	.14	-.04	-.04	.03	-.14	.22	1.00

a How heavy a financial burden children's education is expected to be.

b How favorable an impact having many children has on the family finances.

tance ratings for each of the three classes of economic benefits were significantly higher for rural respondents, although the salience of these benefits was in some cases only slightly greater. The index of expected economic help differentiates more sharply between the socioeconomic groups (means are 15.0 for rural respondents, 11.7 for urban middle-class respondents, and 12.9 for urban lower-class respondents) than between the sexes (Table 4.1). Eighty-two percent of the rural respondents expected economic or practical help from their sons, as compared with 62 percent urban middle-class respondents and 61 percent urban lower-class respondents. For daughters the trend was the same, those expecting help being about 6 percent fewer in each group. Rural respondents also saw children as more willing to provide assistance. On the index of perceived decline in the utility of children, the rural group scored quite low relative to the other two groups.

Urban lower-class respondents generally scored between rural and urban middle-class respondents on expected economic help from children. Their position is seen clearly in their estimates of reliance on children in old age and their expectations of financial contributions. Eighty-five percent of them expected some help in old age, which is closer to the rural proportion of 89 percent than to the urban middle-class proportion of 71 percent. But only 17 percent of them expected to rely "a good deal" on children, much closer to the urban middle-class percentage (15) than to the rural percentage (50). The trend is similar for financial contributions. In the urban lower class 95 percent could foresee contingencies (such as having their children living with them) that would cause them to expect some financial contribution; for rural respondents the proportion was 98 percent, but for the urban middle class it was only 86 percent. A smaller number (64 percent) of urban lower-class respondents would expect such contributions regardless of contingencies, however, and in this regard they more closely resembled the urban middle class (58 percent) than the rural respondents (87 percent). More respondents in the urban lower class than in either of the other two groups expected some help or contingent help from their children but did not expect it to be substantial. Rural respondents were more likely to expect substantial help and urban middle-class respondents were more likely to expect no help at all.

Except possibly for the costs of education, which may be less of a burden for the urban middle class, perceived costs did not differ between urban and rural respondents (Table 4.4). As one would therefore predict, urban respondents were more inclined than rural respondents to see children as a net loss. Eighty-three percent of the urban middle

class, 74 percent of the urban lower class, and 61 percent of rural residents considered a large family worse off than a small family. Larger estimates of the negative economic impact of children may explain why urban middle-class respondents show the greatest readiness to decrease their family-size desires should their incomes decrease. (Other factors might also be responsible, however, such as a better comprehension of hypothetical monetary considerations.) Nevertheless, the urban middle class appeared better able to afford more children than the urban lower-class group. The latter were more than twice as likely as urban middle-class respondents to consider their incomes inadequate, and even more likely than rural respondents to do so: respective percentages were 55, 23, and 43. Urban lower-class respondents were also more likely to mention financial costs among reasons for not wanting more children. The number of children considered an economic burden was smaller for them than for the other two groups. In answer to the hypothetical question whether an increase in income would lead to an increase in the number of children they wanted, urban lower-class respondents were least likely to say yes. This group was squeezed from two directions: they had less discretionary income to spend on children than the urban middle class, and the economic benefits of children were less for them than for rural residents.

Various other social characteristics affected the assessment of the economic utility of children (Table 4.7). Respondents ranking higher on social status, particularly education, expected less economic help from children than did others. Higher current income apparently was not the most important factor related to lower expectations of help, but rather some aspect of the respondent's education and urbanism that oriented him away from counting on children economically. Thus efficacy and overall modernity were also found to be positively related to lower expectations of help. (An alternate explanation is that current income is not a good predictor of expected lifetime earnings, and that education is better. This is unlikely to be the complete explanation, however.) As expectations fell, children were seen as less willing to help. The same variables negatively related to expected help were positively related to a perceived decline in the utility of children. Among the several possible interpretations of this relation, it may be seen as resulting from cognitive balancing, those expecting help from children assuring themselves that help was forthcoming.

The more educated placed less importance than others on the economic costs of children. Two indices of costs used here were discussed in the previous chapter, and only the index of educational burden

Table 4.7 Correlations of indices of the economic utility of children with social status, other social-demographic characteristics, and general values

Characteristic	Benefits		Costs			Impact	
	Expected help	Decline in utility	Costs of children (VCOST)	Burden of education	Burden of another child	Number considered heavy burden	Economic impact
Social status							
Education	-.34	.26	-.17	-.32	-.13	-.00	-.22
Income	-.30	.15	-.09	-.26	-.11	.17	-.08
Level of living	-.32	.22	-.13	-.28	-.13	-.00	-.21
Urbanism	-.33	.26	-.07	-.18	-.06	-.08	-.16
Media exposure	-.16	.11	-.09	-.18	-.01	-.06	-.18
Other social-demographic characteristics							
Age	-.03	.00	.03	.15	.13	.16	.01
Marital duration	.02	-.07	.07	.19	.19	.21	.06
Age at marriage	-.05	.07	-.08	-.05	-.06	-.03	-.02
Pregnancy loss	-.09	.02	-.04	-.00	.06	-.00	.04
Wife working	-.11	.08	.00	-.06	.04	-.00	.00
General values							
Modernity	-.14	.08	-.11	-.07	-.00	.02	-.09
Efficacy	-.20	.06	-.32	-.15	-.09	.06	-.13
Fatalism	.08	-.00	-.09	.07	-.03	.05	.03
Religiosity	.07	.14	-.03	.02	-.08	-.06	-.00

remains to be discussed. Respondents of higher status tended to de-emphasize the burden of education. The education of the parents was a slightly more important factor in reducing the perceived burden than was current household income. The burden of education was also judged to be heavier by those married longer and those who were older and at higher parities.

When they took both costs and benefits into account, the more educated (as well as those ranking higher on level of living, urban experience, and media exposure) saw children as having a more negative overall economic impact than did the less educated. Income alone among the status variables did not affect estimated impact. On the other hand, income was the only status variable to affect the number of children considered a heavy economic burden, leading to an increase in this number. The number considered a heavy burden may have been a reflection less of the balance of utilities and disutilities than of the respondent's financial capacity. That the number considered a burden also increased with parity (and consequently with duration of marriage and age) suggests the operation of mechanisms of cognitive balance.

5

values, disvalues, and family-size desires

Having considered at length the structure of values and disvalues connected with children, we turn in this chapter to the question of how much difference these values and disvalues make when individuals decide how many children to have. Until now we have been assessing values according to their salience and their centrality; we shall presently assess them for their differential effect on behavior or behavioral tendencies. First, however, it is important to evaluate different possible measures of family-size desires.

Family-size desires and perceptions

The average respondent in the Philippine sample had been married seven years, had 3.2 children, and desired 0.9 more children. (Respondent distributions are presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.) The last figure was derived from the question: "If you could have just what you want, how many *more* children would you like to have?" This index, the number of additional children desired, when added to parity (to which 1 is added if the wife is pregnant), gives what will be called desired family size.[1] Respondents were also asked the question: "In your ideal family, if you were starting all over, how many children would

1 Family size is used to mean number of children, parents excluded. Also, for simplicity in discussion the term "parity" is used for "number of living children."

Table 5.1 Family size and family-size desires
(Number and percentage of respondents who gave specified responses to questions on family-size variables)

Response	Actual family size		Desired family size[a]		Ideal family size		Typical family size		Size of family of orientation	
	Number	Cum. %	Number	Cum. %	Number	Cum. %	Number	Cum. %	Number	Cum. %
Number of children										
0	*0*	0	*0*	0	*3*	1	*0*	0	*0*	0
1	*86*	22	*15*	4	*4*	2	*0*	0	*7*	2
2	*74*	41	*49*	18	*57*	17	*5*	1	*11*	5
3	*83*	62	*73*	38	*91*	42	*22*	8	*27*	12
4	*61*	78	*96*	65	*121*	74	*60*	25	*40*	22
5	*36*	87	*58*	82	*58*	90	*81*	49	*48*	35
6	*16*	92	*27*	89	*32*	99	*63*	68	*53*	49
7	*23*	97	*24*	96	*1*	99	*55*	84	*59*	65
8	*6*	99	*15*[b]	100	*4*[b]	100	*32*	93	*46*	77
9	*4*	100	*0*	100	*0*	100	*9*	96	*35*	86
10	*0*	100	*0*	100	*0*	100	*11*	99	*22*	92
11	*0*	100	*0*	100	*0*	100	*1*	99	*10*	95
12 or more	*0*	100	*0*	100	*0*	100	*3*	100	*20*	100
All numbers	*389*	100	*357*	100	*371*	100	*342*	100	*378*	100
Other responses										
As many as possible[c]	na	na	*2*	na	*0*	na	na	na	na	na
Up to God, fate[c]	na	na	*4*	na	*14*	na	na	na	na	na
Uncertain, don't know	na	na	*26*	na	*4*	na	*47*	na	*11*	na

na—not applicable.

a Parity plus number of additional children desired.

b Eight or more children.

c Combined with the category "eight or more" in subsequent analyses.

Table 5.2 Number of additional children desired, by parity
(Percentage of respondents)

Additional number desired	Parity[a]					All parities
	1	2	3	4	5 or more	
0	21	39	47	78	84	54
1	25	18	22	4	2	14
2	29	20	17	7	1	15
3	12	12	2	2	1	6
4 or more	8	1	4	1	2	3
Up to God, fate	1	1	1	0	1	1
Depends on circumstances	3	9	6	7	8	7
Total[b]	99	100	99	99	99	100
(Number of respondents)	(72)	(80)	(81)	(68)	(88)	(389)

a Current pregnancy is counted as one child.

b Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

you want to have altogether?" On this index of ideal family size[2] the mean was 3.9, slightly smaller than the mean for desired family size, which could not be smaller than parity.

Ideal family size and desired family size correlate at .63, indicating good but not perfect agreement. Nineteen percent of the respondents already had more children than their ideal family (Table 5.3). Of the 29 percent who had exactly the number they considered ideal, one out of eight still wanted more children. Fifty-two percent had fewer children than their ideal—the sampling procedures emphasized young married couples—and slightly more than half of this group wanted exactly the number of additional children needed to reach their ideal. One-third of this group wanted fewer than would be necessary, however, and one-ninth wanted more than their ideal. All in all, if one assumes that respondents give reliable answers regarding ideal family

2 A second measure of ideal family size was obtained by asking respondents to make decisions sequentially on whether they wanted a boy or girl for their first child, for their second, and so on up to the number they wanted. This question gave identical results.

Table 5.3 Relationship between parity, ideal family size (IFS), and desired family size (DFS)
(Number and percentage of respondents)

Relationship	Parity[a] < IFS		Parity = IFS		Parity > IFS		Combined	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
DFS < IFS	59	33	na	na	na	na	59	17
DFS = IFS	102	57	89	87	na	na	191	55
DFS > IFS	19	11	13	13	66	100	98	28
Combined	180	52	102	29	66	19	348[b]	100

na—not applicable.

a Current pregnancy is counted as one child.

b Excludes respondents whose ideal was not specific.

size, many Filipino respondents apparently were unable to stick to their ideal or had reasons for deviating from it.

One possible reason—the desire for a son—apparently would lead to slightly larger families. Respondents were asked: if they had only girls, how long would they persist in childbearing in order to have a son. Of those giving definite answers, 45 percent would persist only until they reached their ideal number and 12 percent would give up even before this. But 14 percent would have one or two more than their ideal number, and 29 percent said they would keep having babies until a boy came.

Two other family-size measures are interesting to contrast with ideals, typical family size and size of family of orientation. When asked to estimate the typical family size in their communities, respondents gave a mean figure of 5.8, well above ideal family size. For almost four out of five respondents, their own ideal size was smaller than the estimated size of the typical family, possibly indicating a gap between desire and actuality. Respondents' families of orientation, on the other hand, were even larger, averaging 6.7 children. Half the respondents had six or more siblings (i.e., a family size of seven or more), but only one-third believed that seven children represented an average family size for their community and only one-tenth wanted that many children. Either there has been a substantial change in family-size de-

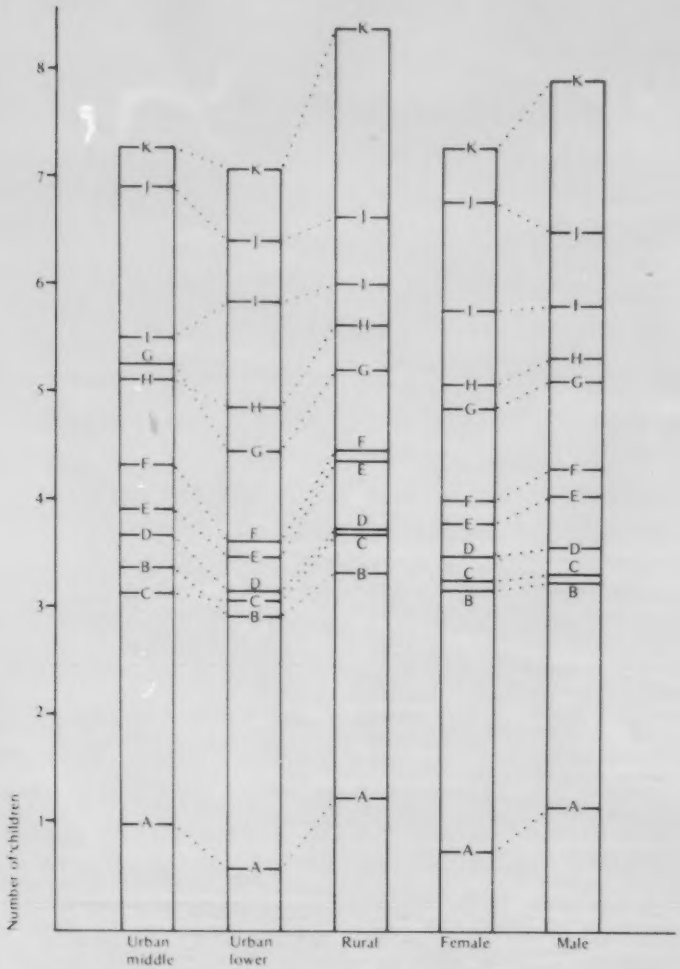
sires in a generation, or there was substantial unwanted fertility in the previous generation.

Perceptions of what is a small and what is a large family may affect individuals' desires. Close to 25 percent of the respondents chose two, three, or four children respectively as the upper limit for a small family. There was even less consensus on what constitutes the lower limit for a large family, a fourth of the respondents saying four or five, a fifth saying six, another fifth saying seven or eight, and almost a third saying nine to twelve. It is not too surprising, given these definitions, that 58 percent of respondents had a small-family ideal (i.e., ideal family size fell within what they considered the range for a small family), 32 percent had a medium-family ideal, and only 10 percent had a large-family ideal. Perceptions of family size and family-size desires were interdependent. Ideal family size and the number the respondent set as the limit for a small family correlate at .25, indicating that those who set this limit higher had a tendency to want more children.

As reported in Chapter 4, we elicited respondents' perceptions of family size strictly according to economic criteria by asking respondents what number of children would constitute a financial burden for them. The mean number considered "somewhat of a burden" was 3.5 children, and 5.0 began to be a "heavy burden." By this economic criterion ideal families may be considered medium in size rather than small – that is, only a quarter of the respondents chose family sizes that would be no burden financially. Half preferred a family that would be somewhat burdensome but not a heavy burden, and the last quarter actually idealized a family that they considered a heavy financial burden. Twenty-two percent already had enough children to constitute what they considered a heavy burden and an additional 29 percent had enough to be a moderate burden. Probably few respondents actually wanted to be heavily burdened but rationalized that their actual family size was ideal in spite of the heavy burden. Nevertheless, the majority were apparently willing to accept a moderate financial burden to achieve their ideal.

How these different measures relate to each other and how the subgroups compare can be seen in Exhibit 5.1. With only two exceptions, the means of the various measures follow the same order in each group. Apart from additional children desired, parity is the smallest measure, just below the upper limit for a small family and the number considered somewhat of a financial burden. Slightly above these measures, in ascending order of magnitude, are ideal family size and desired family size, which in turn are below the number considered a heavy finan-

Exhibit 5.1 Means on various family-size measures, by subgroup



cial burden. In order to have a boy one would be willing to have more children than the number considered to be a heavy burden, but not so many as the number considered typical in the community. Still larger is the mean size of the respondent's family of orientation, which does not, however, reach the lower limit set for a large family, the largest of all the indices.

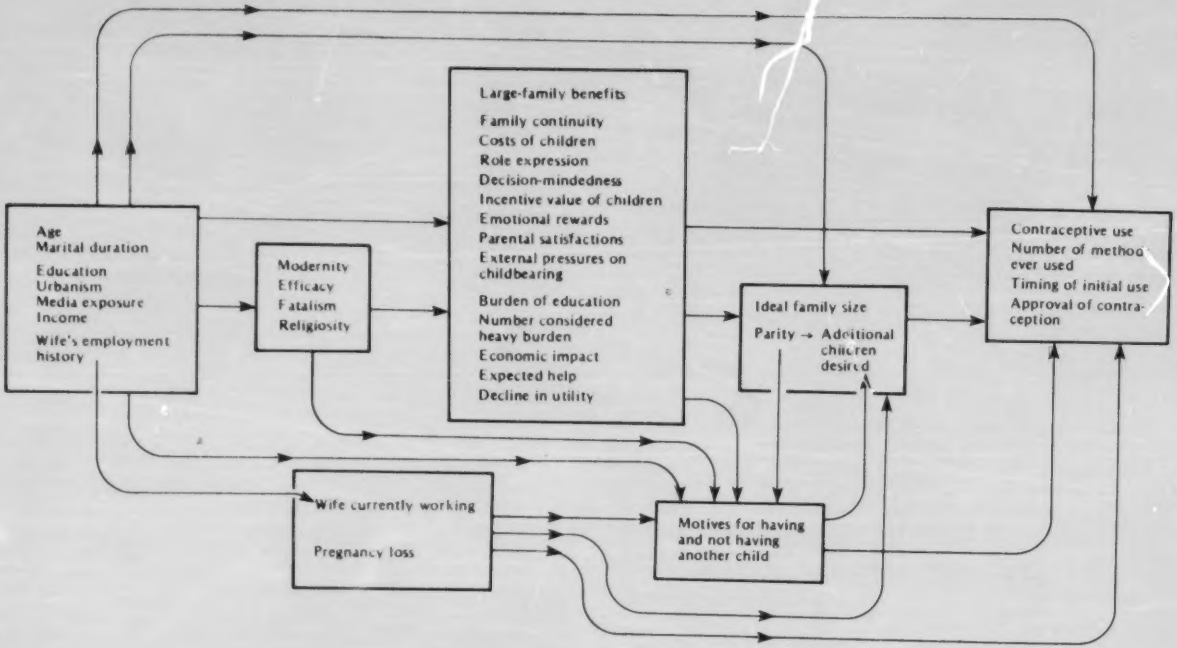
On the average men score slightly higher on the various indices of family-size desires than women. Urban lower-class respondents are the lowest on almost all the indices and rural respondents the highest; middle-class respondents are generally much closer to the latter than to the former. On the number considered somewhat of a burden or a heavy burden, urban middle-class and rural respondents are practically identical, whereas urban lower-class respondents are substantially lower. The average family of orientation seems in fact to be slightly larger for the urban middle class than for rural residents. One important exception to the trend is perceived typical family size in the community, which is smallest for the urban middle class and largest for rural residents. If respondents' perceptions were accurate, the differential may reflect the greater use or effectiveness of family planning in urban middle-class communities.

Preliminary model for values and family-size desires

Of these various measures, we shall attempt to predict three from values and disvalues and from the social characteristics of individuals: the number of additional children desired, ideal family size, and parity. Number of additional children desired rather than desired family size will be used as a dependent variable for three reasons: (1) this number has more psychological coherence than desired family size, reflecting an actual or potential decision individuals can make about future childbearing, whereas desired family size is derived partly from an acceptance of reality—possibly grudging—and partly from a decision (Namboodiri, 1972); (2) methodologically, number of additional children desired was directly elicited from respondents whereas desired family size was obtained indirectly, by adding number of children desired to parity; and (3) number of additional children desired is less strongly related to parity than is desired family size (respective correlations with parity are −.29 and .75), more than half the variance in the latter measure being due to the number of children one already has.

The model to be used is presented in Exhibit 5.2. Several assumptions of the model require discussion. First, the model is not meant as

Exhibit 5.2 Preliminary model for regressions



an assertion that relationships actually exist between the variables diagrammed. Rather, it represents a presumed causal ordering of variables as a framework for linear regressions to determine empirical relationships. Second, the model does not incorporate feedback, even though it is certain that feedback exists between values and desires and between values and behavior. To introduce such complications at this exploratory stage would seem inappropriate and would also be difficult. Third, relationships are generally not indicated among the variables within each block of the model. It is possible to see each block as consisting of theoretically distinct variables, or of indices of the same theoretical variables, or of some combination of the two. Thus causal orderings within each block are difficult to specify and may not be appropriate.

The block of social-background variables (including wife's employment history) is assumed to be exogenous. Wife currently working and pregnancy loss are separated from the social background variables. Since they represent aspects of a respondent's current situation rather than enduring characteristics, it is assumed that they will not affect general values but only parity-specific values.

The different value measures are given a specific causal ordering. The general values not specifically related to children (religiosity, overall modernity, efficacy, fatalism) are assumed to be causally prior to any of the others, and to affect family-size desires only through their effect on values attached to children. Fatalism does have a strong empirical relationship to family-size desires (with number of additional children desired, $r = .33$; with ideal family size, $r = .40$). This index is based on the number of times respondents answered "It's up to God" or "It's up to fate" to different items in the questionnaire. Twelve percent gave one or more fatalistic responses. The latter correlation is partly an artifact of the way such responses were scored on the question about ideal family size, as is, to a lesser degree, the correlation with number of additional children desired. It might be argued also that fatalistic respondents would be less decision-minded and would be less likely to base their desires and decisions on specific values and disvalues. For these reasons it appeared advisable not to include fatalism among the predictors, but to recompute most of the regressions excluding any respondent who gave a fatalistic response. None of the other indices of general values has any correlation with family-size desires.

The VOC attitude indices and the various measures of economic costs and benefits are assumed to be prior to family-size desires. The

parity-specific motivational measures (MH and MN) are posterior to parity but prior to number of additional children desired. As was previously shown in Table 2.28, positive motivations are negatively related to parity whereas negative motivations are positively related to parity—which is inexplicable if motivations are assumed to precede parity. (The relationships remain, but are somewhat attenuated, when duration of marriage is controlled.) The ordering between ideal family size and motives to have or not to have an additional child is a difficult question to resolve, but we shall assume for the moment that the motives do not precede ideal family size in a causal ordering. Since the motives are so highly correlated with each other, it is inadvisable to include all of them in regressions. Only the four most differentiating motives—desire a boy, desire a girl, companionship for children, and financial burden of another child—will be used. Finally, the advantages and disadvantages are considered consequents rather than causes of family-size desires. This amounts to assuming that value salience is more the outcome of one's situation and decisions than a shaper of them, unlike value importance.

An examination of how advantages and disadvantages correlate with family-size desires (Table 5.4) supports the view that value salience is a consequence rather than a cause. If it were a cause, we would expect the salience of positive values to be related to larger family sizes, and the salience of negative values to be related to smaller family sizes. With appropriate variables being controlled (none for ideal family size, parity for number of additional children desired, and duration of marriage for parity), only four correlations are larger than .10 in the absolute, and three out of four are in the reverse direction. Number of additional children desired is related to greater salience of physical work (a disadvantage of children). Parity is related to less salience of incentives to succeed (an advantage) and also to more salience of noise and disorder (a disadvantage). Only the relationship between ideal family size and personal restrictions is in the expected direction. Value salience thus does not appear very predictive of family-size desires. At any rate, the relationships between family-size desires and advantages or disadvantages of children are better explained by assuming that value salience is a consequence of family-size desires or that both are consequent to some unidentified third variable.

Determinants of family-size desires

Linear regressions were run for the combined sample, for "nonfatalists" (i.e., the combined sample excluding those who gave at least one

Table 5.4 Family-size desires and value salience
(Correlations with reduced set of advantages and disadvantages)

Reduced set		Ideal family size	Additional children desired		Parity	
			Zero-order	With parity controlled	Zero-order	With marital duration controlled
Advantages						
RA1	Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	-.07	.00	.00	-.00	.01
RA2	Love, affection	.01	-.01	-.02	-.04	-.07
RA3	Play, relief from strain	-.04	.02	.02	-.04	-.05
RA4	General happiness	.01	.02	.00	-.05	.07
RA5	Maturity, adulthood, learning from child-rearing	-.01	-.04	-.04	-.01	.05
RA6	Incentives to succeed	-.07	.04	.01	-.12	-.12
RA7	Fulfillment; extension of self, own values	-.01	.02	.03	.02	-.04
RA8	Pleasure in children's growth	.02	.08	.06	-.06	-.08
RA9	To carry out parents' aspirations	-.08	.01	-.01	-.06	.04
RA10	Assistance in old age	.02	.03	.03	-.00	.08
RA11	Economic assistance; general help	-.00	-.08	-.04	.16	.01
RA12	Practical help with housework, on farm	.05	-.06	-.02	.15	.04
RA13	Bond between spouses; family life	-.09	.07	.03	-.12	-.05
RA14	Family traditions, name	-.02	-.05	-.05	.02	.04
RA15	Religious obligations	.01	-.08	-.06	.09	.02
RA16	Social benefits	-.03	-.02	-.01	.04	.02

Table 5.4 *(continued)*

Reduced set		Ideal family size	Additional children desired		Parity	
			Zero-order	With parity controlled	Zero-order	With marital duration controlled
Disadvantages						
RD1	Educational costs	-.02	-.01	-.00	.03	.02
RD2	Financial costs other than education	-.08	-.11	-.09	.09	.05
RD3	Responsibility of caring for children; health	-.00	-.01	-.00	.04	.06
RD4	Discipline, moral behavior	-.07	-.05	-.07	-.06	-.07
RD5	General anxieties about children	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.02	.04
RD6	Noise, disorder, nuisance	.01	-.12	-.09	.12	.11
RD7	Pregnancy, maternal health problems	-.08	-.04	-.05	-.02	-.02
RD8	Physical work due to children	.02	.14	.12	-.06	-.03
RD9	Restrictions on personal wants, own time, freedom	-.11	-.06	-.06	.01	.07
RD10	Restrictions on social life	-.09	-.02	-.01	.02	.01
RD11	Restrictions on job, career	-.08	-.00	-.04	-.11	-.04

fatalistic response), and for four overlapping subgroups: all urban respondents, all rural respondents, all women, and all men. These separate regressions provide some degree of internal replication. All variables were entered in standardized form.

The first question to ask of the regression for number of additional children desired is whether the block of variables representing values as a whole contributes significantly to explaining the variance. Table 5.5 presents the appropriate analysis of variance results for the combined-sample regressions. Even after parity, social-demographic variables, and economic perceptions of children are controlled, values still have a significant effect. In contrast, neither the economic perceptions by themselves nor the social-demographic variables, with parity excluded, make a significant contribution. The corresponding *F*-ratios from the subgroup regressions are presented in Table 5.6. For the rural subgroup neither the effect of values nor the effects of the other two blocks of variables are significant. For every other subgroup, however, values have a significant effect. In addition, the social-demographic variables have a significant effect in the urban regression. R^2 for each regression is between .29 and .38.

Specific variables of importance are indicated by the standardized regression coefficients in Table 5.7. Parity, as expected, is the most important predictor of number of additional children desired. Next are the four most differentiating motivational indices (wanting a boy, wanting a girl, companionship for children, and financial burden)—which, however, are less significant for rural respondents. The number of children considered a heavy burden increases the number of additional children desired, and costs of children (VCOST) reduce it. Higher age of respondent leads to a larger number of additional children desired. Neither education, nor income, nor the other status variables appear to have any effect.

Similar statistics are presented from the regressions to predict ideal family size (Tables 5.8 and 5.9). In these regressions the block of variables representing values does not make a significant contribution, although economic perceptions and the social-demographic variables do. Duration of marriage and the number of children considered a heavy burden lead to a larger ideal family size. Age of respondent and the desire for economic help also increase ideal family size. None of the motivational indices was included in this regression, since it was argued that they were parity-specific, and none of the VOC attitude indices included has a significant effect. Family continuity does have a zero-order relationship with number of additional children desired, but

Table 5.5 Analyses of variance for effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic variables on number of additional children desired

Source of variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*p*<
Values					
1 Regression with social-demographic, economic, and value variables	114.15	27	4.228	5.55	.001
2 Regression with social-demographic and economic variables only	66.25	14			
3 Effect of values: (1) - (2)	47.90	13	3.685	4.84	.001
4 Residual from (1)	274.85	361	.761		
Total	389.00	388			
Economic perceptions					
1 Regression with social-demographic, economic, and value variables	114.15	27			
2 Regression with social-demographic and value variables only	106.68	22			
3 Effect of economic perceptions: (1) - (2)	7.47	5	1.494	1.96	*ns*
4 Residual from (1)	274.85	361	.761		
Total	389.00	388			
Social-demographic variables (excluding parity)					
1 Regression with social-demographic, economic, and value variables	114.15	27			
2 Regression with economic and value variables and parity only	105.58	19			
3 Effect of social-demographic variables excluding parity: (1) - (2)	8.57	8	1.071	1.41	*ns*
4 Residual from (1)	274.85	361	.761		
Total	389.00	388			

Table 5.6 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on number of additional children desired
(*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	4.72††	1.53	2.26†	3.33††	4.84††	4.32††	(13)
Economic perceptions	1.52	1.78	.36	1.63	1.96	2.47*	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics[a]	2.61†	.43	1.21	1.41	1.41	1.70	(8)
All variables	4.72††	2.20†	3.35††	3.35††	5.55††	7.60††	(27)
(df_2)	(234)	(99)	(174)	(159)	(361)	(314)	

NOTE: *F*-ratios obtained following the procedure of Table 5.5.

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .01$.

†† $p < .001$.

a Excluding parity.

Table 5.7 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of number of additional children desired

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Parity	-.17	-.36*	-.25*	-.35†	-.25†	-.32††	-.28
Marital duration	.03	.03	.04	.26*	.04	.01	-.18
Age	.15*	.15	-.06	.07	.12*	.03	-.02
Education	-.03	.07	.06	-.09	.01	.07	.04
Urbanism	.08	-.04	-.10	.04	-.00	-.04	-.07
Media exposure	.12	-.09	.12	-.09	.02	.04	-.03
Income	-.02	-.04	.02	.01	-.01	.07	.04
Wife currently working	.12*	.04	.11	.07	.08	.09*	.04
Pregnancy loss	-.03	-.01	.11	-.10	-.01	.02	-.04
Burden of education	.04	-.02	.02	.03	.01	-.01	-.06
Number considered heavy burden	.12	.19	.10	.18*	.13*	.14†	.11
Economic impact	-.03	.09	-.03	.09	.06	.03	.12
Expected help	-.14*	.18	-.03	.03	-.02	.02	.07
Decline in utility	-.01	.00	.02	-.02	-.03	-.09	-.07
Large-family benefits	.00	.09	.03	.04	.03	.02	.04
Family continuity	.02	.15	.16	-.11	.02	-.01	.09
Costs of children	-.01	-.20	-.06	-.23†	-.11*	-.02	-.14
Role expression	-.07	-.22	-.12	-.00	-.06	-.11	.01

Decision-mindedness	.01	-.06	-.05	.03	-.00	.03	.04
Incentive value	-.01	-.12	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.04	-.01
Emotional rewards	-.03	.02	-.01	-.09	-.02	-.02	.01
Parental satisfactions	.09	.14	.05	.11	.06	.04	.09
External pressures	.01	-.09	-.04	.05	-.00	-.08	.03
Want a boy, another boy	.16*	.21	.15*	.27††	.21††	.16†	.36
Want a girl, another girl	.17†	.12	.14	.15	.13*	.11*	.32
Want companion for child, children	.17*	-.00	.08	.08	.10	.14*	.34
Another child a financial burden	-.21††	.06	-.15	-.06	-.11*	-.14†	-.22
R^2	.35	.38	.34	.36	.29	.39	

* $t > 1.96–1.99$ (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58–2.64$, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30–3.45$, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with number of additional children desired for total sample.

Table 5.8 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on ideal family size
(*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	.69	.78	.91	.89	.74	1.19	(9)
Economic perceptions	6.13††	4.48†	4.54††	4.78††	9.19††	10.88††	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics	3.44†	4.11††	2.17*	4.40††	6.13††	5.88††	(7)
All variables	3.61††	3.51††	3.04††	4.15††	6.61††	7.39††	(21)
(df_2)	(240)	(105)	(180)	(165)	(367)	(320)	

* $p < .05$.
† $p < .01$.
†† $p < .001$.

Table 5.9 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of ideal family size

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Marital duration	.17*	.23*	.10	.31†	.18†	.22††	.34
Age	.12	.28*	.12	.13	.17†	.11	.32
Education	.06	.04	.02	.02	.04	.03	-.13
Urbanism	.04	-.03	-.17*	.08	-.04	-.09	-.15
Media exposure	.10	-.14	.14	-.05	.03	.03	-.03
Income	-.07	-.00	-.03	-.12	-.06	-.01	-.03
Wife's employment history	-.07	-.03	-.06	-.06	-.04	.00	.07
Burden of education	.00	.02	.07	-.04	.02	-.02	.08
Number considered heavy burden	.32††	.20*	.28††	.29††	.28††	.31††	.37
Economic impact	-.03	.14	-.02	.04	.04	.01	.15
Expected help	.12	.23*	.15	.14	.14*	.17†	.20
Decline in utility	.04	-.11	.02	-.05	-.02	-.01	-.10
Large-family benefits	.13*	.00	.07	.13	.08	.08	.13
Family continuity	-.02	-.03	.10	-.08	-.00	-.02	.15
Costs of children	-.04	-.12	-.07	-.11	-.08	-.10	-.05
Role expression	.04	-.09	-.02	.02	-.00	-.05	.07
Decision-mindedness	.02	.02	-.11	.12	.01	.01	.08
Incentive value	-.00	-.07	-.04	-.03	-.02	.06	.02
Emotional rewards	.01	-.09	-.04	.00	-.00	.06	.10
Parental satisfactions	.03	.13	.10	.02	.04	.04	.09
External pressures	-.01	.03	.06	-.01	.01	-.01	.06
R^2	.24	.41	.26	.35	.27	.33	

* $t > 1.96–1.99$ (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58–2.64$, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30–3.45$, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with ideal family size for total sample.

controlling for expected economic help makes the relationship disappear. The amount of variance explained is slightly below that in the previous regressions with additional children desired.

Objections could be raised to using the number of children considered a heavy burden as a predictor of ideal family size. This index might alternately be called the economically ideal family size since, like ideal family size, it represents some number of children chosen, presumably, on the basis of balancing satisfactions and costs. Although the index was meant to refer specifically to economic satisfactions and costs, not all respondents may have maintained a clear distinction between these and noneconomic values. Feedback should perhaps be permitted between this index of economic burden and ideal family size, or they might even be considered parallel measures of the same theoretical variable, the former being somewhat more economic though not exclusively so.

We did not attempt to incorporate feedback in our regression models, but we did run the regressions for ideal family size again, this time excluding the economic-perception variables (Table 5.10). Duration of marriage and age have about the same effect as in the previous regressions. The financial costs index (VCOST) becomes important once the specifically economic predictors are excluded. Large-family benefits also lead to higher ideal family size. Family continuity has some effect but does not reach significance.

While additional children desired and ideal family size are essentially attitudinal variables or at best behavioral intentions, parity reflects actual previous behavior. It might be preferable to predict completed family size, but this is obviously not possible without longitudinal data. The assumption necessary in using parity as a dependent variable is that currently held values are identical to or at least reflect values held at the time of previous childbearing. Apart from duration of marriage, only the block of economic-perception variables makes a significant contribution to explaining parity when the other blocks of variables are controlled (Table 5.11). As one could expect from the relative youth of the couples being studied, duration of marriage is far and away the most important predictor of parity (Table 5.12). The index of economic burden similarly has a significant effect in each regression. Educational burden seems to increase rather than decrease parity; this finding suggests that the causal relationship should be reversed. Urbanism leads to slightly higher parities. None of the VOC indices is an important factor. Because of the importance of duration of marriage, R^2 is quite high, between .59 and .77. Ideal family size,

Table 5.10 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of ideal family size, excluding economic perceptions as predictors

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist
Marital duration	.22†	.28*	.21*	.35††	.24††	.27††
Age	.15	.23*	.11	.11	.18†	.12
Education	.08	.01	.03	.04	.03	.03
Urbanism	.04	-.07	-.21*	.01	-.09	-.14*
Media exposure	.06	-.16	.11	-.12	-.01	-.01
Income	.00	-.00	-.01	-.04	-.01	.05
Wife's employment history	-.08	-.05	-.05	-.06	-.04	.02
Large-family benefits	.13*	.03	.05	.18*	.09	.08
Family continuity	.10	.17	.16	.08	.12	.11
Costs of children	-.08	-.10	-.10	-.14	-.11*	-.12*
Role expression	.02	-.09	-.05	.03	-.01	-.07
Decision-mindedness	.05	.01	-.08	.15*	.04	.05
Incentive value	-.02	-.09	-.04	-.05	-.03	.06
Emotional rewards	.03	-.10	-.01	-.01	-.00	.06
Parental satisfactions	-.02	.13	.09	-.03	.02	.03
External pressures	.01	.06	.09	.01	.04	.02
R^2	.14	.29	.17	.25	.18	.21

* $t > 1.96$–1.99 (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58$–2.64, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30$–3.45, $p < .001$.

which correlates with parity at .37, was not used as a predictor because it could well be a consequent rather than an antecedent variable. Rerunning the regressions without the economic-perception variables does not appreciably affect the results, nor does it increase the importance of the VOC indices. It may have been inappropriate to use parity as a dependent variable and better to consider it as a cause rather than a consequence of currently held values.

Urban-rural and male-female differences

In the rural subgroup, values do not contribute significantly to the prediction of additional children desired. Parity alone among the predictors has a significant effect. It is instructive to consider these results as they contrast with the results for urban respondents. Of the

Table 5.11 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on parity
(F-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	.84	1.50	.41	1.40	.79	:44	(9)
Economic perceptions	5.34††	4.60††	2.98*	6.01††	8.16††	6.74††	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics	.26	1.70	.81	.70	1.32	1.46	(6)
All variables	16.96††	17.00††	12.41††	18.28††	30.05††	25.43††	(21)
df_2	(240)	(105)	(180)	(165)	(367)	(320)	

* $p < .05$.
†† $p < .001$.

Table 5.12 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of parity

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Marital duration	.65††	.66††	.59††	.77††	.67††	.64††	.76
Age	-.00	.07	.07	-.07	.00	.04	.49
Education	-.01	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.06	-.07	-.20
Urbanism	.05	.08	.09	.07	.09*	.10*	-.03
Media exposure	-.03	.02	.01	-.02	.01	.00	.00
Income	-.00	.05	-.01	-.00	.00	-.00	.08
Wife's employment history*	.00	.10	.05	.02	.05	.06	.30
Burden of education	.12†	.01	.10	.06	.08*	.07	.21
Number considered heavy burden	.18††	.23††	.18†	.22††	.20††	.18††	.33
Economic impact	.02	.05	.00	.01	.02	.04	.10
Expected help	.06	-.09	-.04	.11	.03	.04	.03
Decline in utility	.01	.04	.02	.07	.03	.05	-.01
Large-family benefits	.06	-.02	.02	.08	.04	.02	.14
Family continuity	-.08	-.06	.01	-.12	-.05	-.04	-.02
Costs of children	-.01	.10	.06	-.05	.02	.01	.06
Role expression	-.01	.03	-.05	.02	-.02	-.02	-.00
Decision-mindedness	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.00	-.02
Incentive value	.03	.07	.01	.07	.04	.04	.02
Emotional rewards	.07	-.06	.06	-.01	.04	.04	.11
Parental satisfactions	-.03	.06	.02	.02	.01	-.00	-.00
External pressures	.02	-.15*	-.03	-.07	-.05	-.04	.02
R^2	.60	.77	.59	.70	.63	.63	

* $t > 1.96$–1.99 (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58$–2.64, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30$–3.45, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with parity for total sample.

six regressions run for each dependent variable, the rural regressions had the fewest cases, and this finding partly accounts for lower levels of significance. Standardized regression coefficients are sometimes as large or even larger than the significant coefficients for the urban subgroup, but they still do not reach significance. Because the combination of predictors is partly responsible for the different effects of values, zero-order and some first-order correlation coefficients are presented in Table 5.13. Where both the regression and the correlation coefficients differ by at least .10, one can speak of rural-urban differences with more confidence.

To take additional children desired first, the effects of the positive motivational (MH) items, of the number of children considered a heavy burden, and of age differ only slightly. Financial burden caused by having another child does have differential impact, reducing the number of additional children desired in the urban subgroup but not in the rural. The costs index (VCOST) is ambiguous, since it has a negative effect in the rural regression only, but correlations for rural and urban respondents differ only slightly. These variables cover the factors predictive of additional children desired overall. Several other variables may not be generally predictive because of urban-rural contrasts. Thus expected economic help increases the number of additional children desired for rural respondents, reduces it for urban. Economic impact and family continuity increase the number desired for rural respondents only. And media exposure reduces the number desired for rural respondents but increases it for urban respondents.

Expecting economic assistance from children appears to be an important reason for rural respondents to desire additional children, but not for urban respondents from the primate city. Lower-class urban respondents expected more assistance from their children than did middle-class respondents but desired fewer additional children because of income constraints. The differential effect of family continuity might be due to the inclusion of economic assistance among its elements, but it could also mean that other elements of family continuity were more important in the rural case. As contrasted with economic benefits, the effect of economic costs is less clear. Parity-specific financial costs affect urban respondents' but not rural respondents' childbearing desires, but general costs may—one cannot be certain—be more important in affecting rural respondents' desires.

The effects of media exposure are interesting and may partly explain the failure of the social-status variables to predict number of additional children desired. The other status variables—education,

Table 5.13 Correlations of predictors with family-size desires, for urban and rural subgroups

Predictor	Ideal family size: zero order		Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled		Parity: partials, with marital duration controlled	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Parity	na	na	-.28[a]	-.33[a]	na	na
Marital duration	.27	.42	.05	.01	.73[b]	.82[b]
Age	.27	.41	.18	.07	-.00	.09
Education	.01	-.17	.15	-.06	-.05	.00
Urbanism	.07	-.10	.13	-.02	.05	.10
Media exposure	.14	-.14	.15	-.15	-.07	.05
Income	.09	-.01	.21	-.00	.01	.16
Wife currently working	na	na	.08	.06	na	na
Pregnancy loss	na	na	.03	.02	na	na
Wife's employment history	.04	.12	na	na	.02	.14
Burden of education	.02	.10	-.04	-.03	.18	-.06
Number considered heavy burden	.35	.36	.19	.27	.24	.34
Economic impact	.08	.19	.05	.22	.12	.07
Expected help	.13	.20	-.06	.24	.09	-.10
Decline in utility	.03	-.17	-.00	-.05	.04	.06
Large-family benefits	.15	.10	.09	.07	.14	-.01
Family continuity	.08	.14	.02	.13	-.03	-.01
Costs of children	-.06	-.04	-.11	-.16	.02	-.01
Role expression	.03	.08	.00	-.02	-.05	.03
Decision-mindedness	.03	.07	.04	-.06	-.00	.03
Incentive value	.03	-.05	.02	-.08	.03	.09
Emotional rewards	.12	-.04	.02	.02	.08	-.08
Parental satisfactions	.05	.12	.11	.04	-.06	.11
External pressures	.05	.05	.07	-.03	.02	-.18
Want a boy, another boy	na	na	.29	.26	na	na
Want a girl, another girl	na	na	.26	.20	na	na
Want companion for child, children	na	na	.27	.20	na	na
Another child a financial burden	na	na	-.31	-.11	na	na

na—not applicable.

a Zero-order with parity, with current pregnancy counted as one child.

b Zero-order.

income, urbanism—show a pattern of effects similar to, though weaker than, that for media exposure, when correlations are considered, being positively related to additional children desired for urban respondents, but negatively related or unrelated for rural respondents. Some aspects of status—principally income, it appears from the partial correlations—lead urban respondents to desire more children. Other aspects of status—principally media exposure—lead rural respondents to limit their family-size desires. With the high intercorrelations among the status variables, these effects do not appear clearly in the regressions. Moreover, income is related to the financial burden of another child for urban respondents ($r = -.17$) but not for rural respondents ($r = .01$), so that the differential effects of this variable on number of additional children desired confirm that the capacity to afford children affects family-size desires among urban but not among rural respondents.

Urban-rural differences in factors affecting ideal family size are similar, with expected economic help and economic impact increasing ideal size more for rural than for urban respondents, and media exposure having opposite effects on the two subgroups. (For income the zero-order correlations are in the expected direction, positive for urban and negative for rural, but they are quite small.) In addition, the index of decline in the utility of children reduces ideal family size for rural but not urban respondents. A final differentiating factor is respondent's age, which is related to higher ideal family size in both the urban and the rural cases but has a stronger effect in the latter. Presumably media exposure and youth have parallel effects in moving rural respondents toward smaller family-size ideals. Economic help, one should note, has a weaker but still positive effect in the urban case. While it leads to a lower number of additional children desired for urban respondents, it may not affect general ideals in the same way.

Of the urban-rural differences in the prediction of parity, the role of expected help is the most complicated. Its effect in each case is relatively slight, but the order of effects is reversed: expected help is related to higher parity in the urban case, lower parity in the rural. The urban case is easier to explain, since it parallels the positive effect of expected help on ideal family size. For the rural case one could assume that those at lower parities still expect help while those at higher parities have less need for it. This amounts to arguing that previous childbearing influences current values rather than vice versa. This argument is useful in explaining other urban-rural differences. The burden of education, for instance, relates to higher parities among urban but

not rural respondents. External pressure on childbearing (VPRES) relates to lower parities for rural but not urban respondents, as if those with few children in rural communities feel greater social pressure to have more. And emotional rewards (VEMOT) relate to higher parities for urban respondents, who presumably are more sensitive to emotional rewards from children, and to lower parities for rural respondents.

Differences between regressions for male and for female respondents appear to be less consequential (Table 5.14). Duration of marriage and age are stronger predictors of family-size desires for men than for women. In predicting additional children desired, the desire for a boy and economic impact have more effect for men than for women, as does decision-mindedness (VDECN) in predicting ideal family size.

Further analysis of the effects of values

The VOC attitude indices appear to have not very great differential effect on family-size desires. Respondents who assigned greater importance to the costs of children did desire fewer additional children than others and had a smaller ideal family size if specifically economic indices are excluded from the regression. With the same exclusions, family continuity increases ideal family size slightly.

To determine whether some effects of the VOC items could have been concealed by combining them into subscores, correlations were obtained between scores for individual items and family-size desires. Items with a correlation of .10 or above are presented in Table 5.15. These correlations essentially confirm the regression results. Number of additional children desired relates negatively to the cost items, including, one may note, noneconomic costs such as the tedium and mental strain of childrearing and the need to take responsibility for how children turn out. It also relates to the view that childbearing is a social duty. Ideal family size, on the other hand, has some relation to family continuity items, particularly to the items stating that the family is the basis for all that is good in society and it is a person's duty to society to have children. Parity has only a slight positive relation to the belief that children are inevitable and a slight negative relation to the value placed on children's "true loyalty."

The motivational indices for having or not having another child make an important contribution to explaining number of additional children desired. Only four of these indices could be included in the regressions, however. Correlations of each of the motives with family-size desires are given in Table 5.16 separately for urban and rural

Table 5.14 Correlations of predictors with family-size desires, for female and male subgroups

Predictor	Ideal family size: zero order		Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled		Parity: partials, with marital duration controlled	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Parity	na	na	-.40[a]	-.21[a]	na	na
Marital duration	.27	.40	.00	.09	.74[b]	.78[b]
Age	.24	.35	-.02	.13	.08	-.04
Education	-.12	-.16	.08	-.12	-.01	-.02
Urbanism	-.20	-.12	-.06	-.10	.08	.07
Media exposure	-.01	-.06	.05	-.13	.00	-.06
Income	-.02	-.03	.11	.03	.04	.07
Wife currently working	na	na	.12	.02	na	na
Pregnancy loss	na	na	.08	-.03	na	na
Wife's employment history	.05	.10	na	na	.08	.03
Burden of education	.11	.07	-.02	.02	.14	.06
Number considered heavy burden	.35	.37	.18	.26	.21	.33
Economic impact	.11	.19	.09	.22	.05	.14
Expected help	.23	.20	.04	.13	-.01	.07
Decline in utility	-.08	-.12	.01	-.13	.05	.07
Large-family benefits	.04	.21	.06	.11	.05	.14
Family continuity	.18	.15	.12	.10	-.02	-.04
Costs of children	-.03	-.06	-.14	-.11	.08	-.07
Role expression	.07	.09	-.01	.06	-.05	-.00
Decision-mindedness	.00	.15	-.03	.09	-.01	-.00
Incentive value	-.00	.04	-.01	-.01	.00	.09
Emotional rewards	.08	.13	.09	.04	.07	-.00
Parental satisfactions	.13	.08	.05	.14	-.00	-.03
External pressures	.12	.05	.01	.12	.03	-.12
Want a boy, another boy	na	na	.24	.35	na	na
Want a girl, another girl	na	na	.22	.30	na	na
Want companion for child, children	na	na	.22	.30	na	na
Another child a financial burden	na	na	-.23	-.23	na	na

na—not applicable.

a Zero-order with parity, with current pregnancy counted as one child.

b Zero-order.

Table 5.15 Correlations of selected VOC items with family-size desires

Item		Ideal family size	Additional children desired		Parity	
			Zero-order	With parity controlled	Zero-order	With marital duration controlled
1	Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	-.02	-.16	-.15	.04	.10
12	It is a person's duty to society to have children	.12	.16	.14	-.06	-.06
26	Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	-.10	-.14	-.12	.06	-.02
9	A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any	.02	-.10	-.12	-.04	.00
32	Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	.08	.11	.12	.02	-.04
5	Most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children	-.10	-.10	-.11	.00	.04
17	It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life	-.06	-.12	-.10	.07	.06
10	Always having children around is a great mental strain	-.02	-.11	-.09	.06	.03
37	Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people	-.00	-.10	-.09	.05	.06
31	The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.12	.10	.08	-.06	-.03
34	A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.11	.03	.04	.00	-.05
43	The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.11	.07	.07	-.00	-.02

Table 5.15 *(continued)*

Item		Ideal family size	Additional children desired		Parity	
			Zero-order	With parity controlled	Zero-order	With marital duration controlled
25	One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	.02	.08	.05	-.11	-.12
21	A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	.06	.03	.04	.02	-.12
24	For most people, it is inevitable to have children	.09	.03	.06	.10	.11
44	A person who has no children can never really be happy	.06	-.00	.04	.12	.05
20	Life for most people would be pretty dull without children	.07	-.03	-.01	.10	.03

respondents. The four indices used—desire for a boy, desire for a girl, companionship for children, and financial burden—have among the highest correlations with additional children desired. Other motives that are strongly predictive, even after parity is controlled, are the spouse's desire for children, enjoying raising children, their being fun around the house, and learning about life through children. Similar VOC items do not relate to additional children desired, possibly because of their more abstract phrasing and their not being parity-specific.

Urban-rural differences in the degree to which the positive motivational items predict additional children desired are slight. Family name and traditions may have more differential effect in the rural case, whereas pressure from relatives has more effect in the urban case. This may indicate a change in respondents' perceptions of kin rather than a change in actual values; that is, rural respondents may identify with an extended family and internalize its demands, whereas urban respondents perceive such demands as coming from "relatives" but may be equally willing or unwilling to respond to them. There are greater differences where the negative motivational items are concerned. Most of these items relate to a desire for fewer additional children among

Table 5.16 Correlations of motives for having and not having another child with family-size desires, for urban and rural subgroups

Motive		Ideal family size: zero-order		Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled		Parity: zero-order	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Motives for having another child							
1	I enjoy having a small baby	.04	.02	.10	.19	-.22	-.45
2	To help carry on our family name and traditions	.09	.06	.04	.16	-.10	-.32
3	I want to have a boy, another boy	.03	-.11	.29	.26	-.32	-.38
4	I want to have a girl, another girl	.06	-.08	.26	.20	-.33	-.40
5	Some relatives feel that I should have more children	.14	-.09	.22	-.02	-.12	-.20
6	To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	.07	-.04	-.01	.09	-.11	-.43
7	It is my religious duty to have children	.08	.05	.08	.14	-.22	-.22
8	So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	.13	.02	.05	.10	-.02	-.23
9	Having another child will make my marriage stronger	-.02	.04	.07	.17	-.25	-.23
10	To provide a companion for my child, children	-.04	.10	.27	.20	-.45	-.34
11	I enjoy caring for and raising children	.08	.08	.23	.23	-.24	-.26
12	My spouse wants more children	.08	-.08	.27	.19	-.29	-.29
13	It is fun to have children around the house	.10	-.00	.24	.16	-.33	-.21
14	Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	.04	-.10	.22	.16	-.33	-.35
15	I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and child	.03	-.08	.18	.15	-.36	-.27
16	I want to share what I have and what I know with children	.02	-.00	.12	.17	-.25	-.22
17	I want to be sure to have enough children survive in adulthood	.03	.00	.13	.03	-.21	-.26

Table 5.16 *(continued)*

Motive		Ideal family size: zero-order		Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled		Parity: zero-order	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Motives for not having another child							
1	Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	-.10	.20	-.31	-.11	.20	.33
2	My spouse does not want any more children	.02	.08	-.08	-.11	.12	.21
3	Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	-.09	.10	-.18	.10	-.02	.13
4	Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	-.12	.08	-.23	-.03	.13	.17
5	I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	-.01	.16	-.03	.12	-.07	.01
6	I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	-.00	-.04	-.07	-.15	.02	.11
7	Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	-.11	.04	-.24	-.06	.16	.14
8	I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	-.12	.10	-.15	-.02	.03	.22
9	Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	-.13	.09	-.25	-.04	.06	.21

urban respondents, but among rural respondents the relationships are much weaker. This is true not only for financial burden, which was differentiating when the regressions were examined, but also for such other motives as the strains and restrictions children impose.

The appropriateness of excluding positive and negative motivations to have another child from the regressions for ideal family size may also be seen in Table 5.16. Ideal family size has a weaker relationship with these indices than does additional children desired. One of the strongest correlations is between ideal family size and the desire for economic help from an added child; this finding confirms the importance of the economic-help index in the regressions. Including these indices would not change the regression results by much.

A factor analysis of the motivational items was reported and passed over briefly in Chapter 2 because it seemed to show that the positive motives and the negative motives, separately, were quite homogeneous. The differences in the effects of specific motives on family-size desires suggest that the factor results should be reconsidered. The first five components, accounting for 41 percent of the variance, were rotated to orthogonality, with results presented in Table 5.17. Most of the positive motivational items that correlated strongly with number of additional children desired had high loadings on the first factor, which included social pressure items, desire for a boy or a girl, seeking companionship for siblings, and enjoyment or fun with children. The element common to these motives may be the positive effect children have on social relationships, including both the rewarding aspects of interaction with the children themselves and the way they enhance the parents' other relationships. The positive motivational items affecting ideal family size, on the other hand, loaded on the fifth factor, which was similar to the family continuity factor from the VOC items that also related to ideal family size. This coherence among motives predictive of particular family-size desires serves to reinforce our confidence in the regression results.

The second, third, and fourth factors involve, if one may simplify somewhat, restrictions on time, freedom, and work; a special feeling for children, for sharing with them and learning from them; and negative effects of social density, whether for the society as a whole (overpopulation) or within the family (in limiting the care and attention each child receives). The negative motivational items related to additional children desired scatter across several factors and have relatively low loadings.

Additional children desired and the motivational items loading on

Table 5.17 Factor structure, after rotation, of motives for having and not having another child

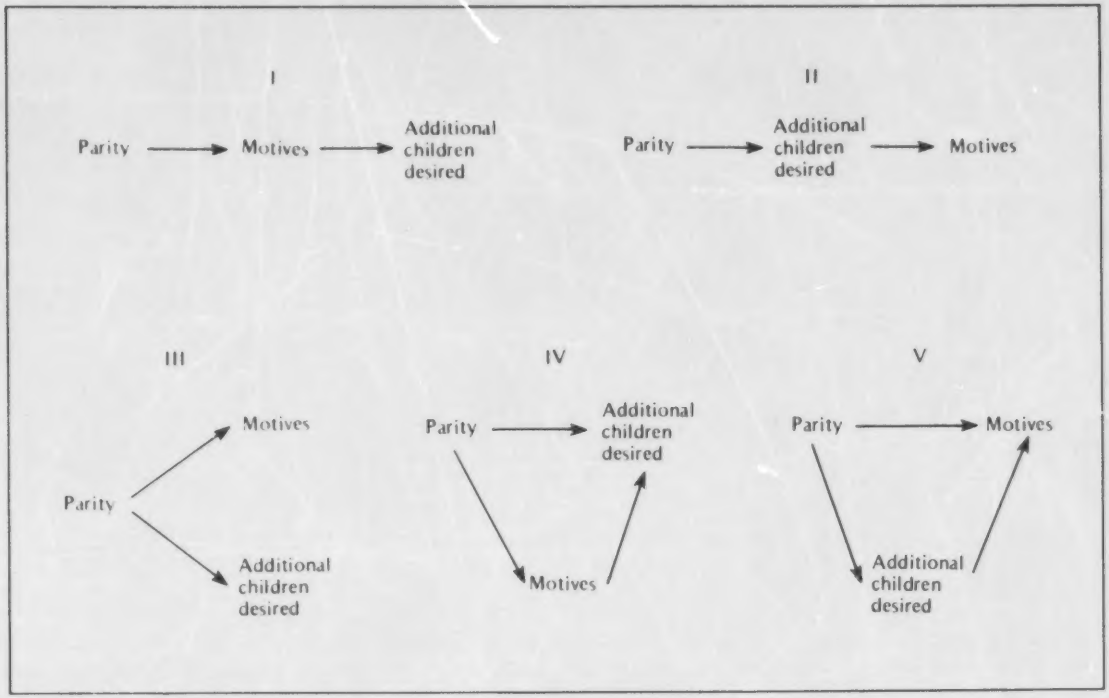
Motive		Factor I	II	III	IV	V	Communality
Motives for having another child							
1	I enjoy having a small baby	.25	.18	.04	.39	-.63	.65
2	To help carry on our family name and traditions	.16	.14	.19	.20	-.76	.70
3	I want to have a boy, another boy	.48	.07	.19	.48	-.27	.58
4	I want to have a girl, another girl	.59	.05	.12	.18	-.21	.44
5	Some relatives feel that I should have more children	.67	-.20	.20	-.09	-.09	.55
6	To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	.45	.05	-.01	-.26	-.60	.63
7	It is my religious duty to have children	.43	.00	-.10	-.19	-.57	.55
8	So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	.38	.05	-.08	-.34	-.63	.67
9	Having another child will make my marriage stronger	.32	.12	-.00	.05	-.63	.52
10	To provide a companion for my child, children	.65	.03	-.05	.19	-.31	.56
11	I enjoy caring for and raising children	.50	.16	-.27	.15	-.46	.58
12	My spouse wants more children	.72	.02	.12	.06	-.20	.57
13	It is fun to have children around the house	.47	.19	-.38	.11	-.44	.61
14	Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	.52	.20	-.55	.08	-.33	.72
15	I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and a child	.02	.17	-.42	-.02	.04	.21
16	I want to share what I have and what I know with children	-.13	-.06	-.48	.00	-.04	.26
17	I want to be sure to have enough children to survive to adulthood	.12	.40	-.11	-.09	-.02	.19

Motives for not having another child							
1	Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	-.07	.28	.05	-.16	-.28	.19
2	Spouse does not want any more children	-.02	.10	-.04	-.27	.02	.09
3	Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	.04	-.38	-.09	.01	.05	.16
4	Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	.00	-.31	.05	-.14	.03	.12
5	I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	.04	-.50	.00	.12	.07	.28
6	I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	-.06	-.10	-.36	.41	.06	.31
7	Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	.08	.16	.22	.03	-.07	.09
8	I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	.07	.08	-.03	.30	.03	.10
9	Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	.03	.18	-.03	.11	.11	.06
Eigenvalue		3.49	1.06	1.30	1.18	3.34	10.38

the first factor are each strongly related to parity. We have been assuming a particular causal ordering among these variables, and it is advisable at this point to consider the evidence for different orderings. Exhibit 5.3 presents five possibilities, under the reasonable assumption that parity affects the other two variables but is not affected by them. Diagram I states that parity affects motives, which in turn lead to particular numbers of additional children being desired. The significant effect of parity in the regressions for additional children desired indicates that this ordering is wrong, since parity still affects additional children desired even after particular motives are controlled. Diagram II presents an alternate possibility, that parity affects number of additional children desired, which causes particular motives to be brought into line with the desired number. For this ordering to be adequate, the correlations between parity and motivational items should disappear when number of additional children desired is controlled. Nevertheless, they remain relatively large: for desire a boy, .25; for desire a girl, .28; for companionship for children, .34; and for financial burden, .18. Hence this ordering must also be discarded. The third diagram states that additional children desired and motives are not directly related, that they are both consequents of parity. This diagram too can be rejected on the basis of the regressions, which show that motivational items and additional children desired are still related after parity is controlled. That leaves us with two possibilities (Diagrams IV and V) and one difficulty: that it is not possible to make an empirical distinction between the two possibilities.

Diagram IV states that motives precede additional children desired, that individuals are rational to the extent of forming situation-specific motives on the basis of the number of children they already have and allowing these motives to affect the number of children they desire. That parity still has a direct effect on additional children desired would suggest that the domain of these motives is incompletely specified. Diagram V, on the other hand, states that the effect of parity on additional children desired is not mediated by motivational constructs, which are in a sense epiphenomenal, arising because of the number of children one has and also as justification for the number that one wants. Two psychological mechanisms have to be assumed: self-justification or rationalization, to account for the impact of additional children desired on motives, and a reality principle, to account for the impact of parity on motives. It is not possible for self-justification to account for the latter, because this would imply that higher parity leads to higher positive motivation and lower negative motivation,

Exhibit 5.3 Causal models for parity, motives to have and not to have another child, and number of additional children desired



whereas the reverse is actually true. In this sense Diagram IV represents a more parsimonious explanation. One may actually postulate a Diagram VI, where motives and additional children desired mutually affect each other, and this may be closest to the truth.

Personal efficacy as a moderator variable

Now that it has been demonstrated that particular values and disvalues do affect family-size desires, it is worth looking further for variables that strengthen or weaken this relationship. A number of possible moderator variables were included in our data set, such as VDECN (decision-mindedness), fatalism, and education. VDECN apparently has less to do with decision-mindedness than with how pressed respondents felt to weigh the costs of children; therefore it may be inappropriate as a moderator variable. Fatalism may not be that important, because excluding from the regression analysis those respondents who gave some fatalistic response does not appreciably change the predictive power of the value indices. The effect of education has not been determined. Urban versus rural residence, which has some relation to education, accentuates the effect of particular values in different directions.

Instead of testing education as a moderator variable, we shall use the sense of personal efficacy, the perception that one has control over the reinforcements one receives (Rotter, 1966). Efficacy has some relation to education (for this sample the correlation is .31), and there are theoretical reasons for believing that personal efficacy should increase the effect of values. It has been shown that the more efficacious more actively seek information on their own situation (Seeman and Evans, 1963) and are more responsive to internal than external cues as motivating factors in their own behavior (Bulatao, 1971). Thus for the more efficacious respondents, personal values would be expected to be more closely linked to family-size desires and decisions. Efficacy itself need not affect family-size desires, however. No such effect, in fact, is evident with this sample (with ideal family size, $r = -.00$; with additional children desired, parity being controlled, $r = .00$). Rather, it is argued that efficacy moderates the effects of other values, increasing their effect for the more efficacious.

Efficacy was measured by means of six statements taken from Rotter's (1966) Internal-External (I-E) scale, presented in "agree-disagree" rather than forced-choice format. The six statements were:

1. Sometimes I feel I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking [reverse scoring].

2. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
3. What happens to me is my own doing.
4. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyway [reverse scoring].
5. When I make plans, I am almost certain I can make them work.
6. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me [reverse scoring].

Each of these statements is a positive or negative expression of personal efficacy, the sense of control over one's own life, rather than political efficacy, which is the other major dimension of the I-E scale. Scores were summed and divided roughly into quartiles, to identify externals (the least efficacious respondents), midternals (respondents whose scores placed them in the two middle quartiles), and internals (the most efficacious).[3]

Efficacy affects the importance assigned to particular values (Table 5.18). As discussed earlier, efficacy is related to attaching less importance to the costs of children, financial and otherwise, as if internals were more confident of their ability to meet these costs in money, time, and effort. Because efficacy is also related to discounting the economic assistance children might give as well as the importance of external pressures (VPRES) on one's decisions, it may be inferred that internals prefer to rely on their own personal resources and are more likely to reject outside influence. Finally, efficacy is related to attaching less importance to family continuity and to the benefits that children in large families receive; this implies that internals are more individualistic and less concerned about group morale or traditions. These value differences between externals, midternals, and internals are consistent with our theoretical understanding of personal efficacy.

Nevertheless, the straightforward prediction that efficacy will increase the differential effect of values is not supported by our data (Table 5.19). We would expect the correlations with family-size desires to be consistently stronger among internals than among midternals or externals, but this is not uniformly the case. Instead efficacy acts as a moderator variable in particular instances but not in others. The patterns are clearer with additional children desired than with ideal family size, possibly because number of additional children desired is closer to an actual decision whereas ideal family size may be a more speculative expression of personal desires. The correlation between perceived costs, whether general or parity-specific, and additional children desired is more strongly negative among internals than among the other

3 Scores ranged from 6 (external) to 42 (internal). The upper limit for externals was 23, the lower limit for internals 31.

Table 5.18 Mean scores on value indices, by level of personal efficacy

Value	Level of efficacy		
	Externals	Midternals	Internals
Burden of education	2.15	2.09	1.91
Number considered heavy burden	4.81	5.06	5.03
Economic impact	1.88	1.69	1.42
Expected help	13.85	13.51	12.04
Decline in utility	4.13	4.41	4.45
Large-family benefits	6.31	5.88	5.86
Family continuity	50.30	49.50	46.86
Costs of children	19.51	16.92	14.65
Role expression	37.23	38.40	37.92
Decision-mindedness	17.26	17.56	17.51
Incentive value	12.86	12.84	13.22
Emotional rewards	16.91	17.45	16.24
Parental satisfactions	18.05	17.96	18.36
External pressures	17.25	16.92	13.76
I enjoy having a small baby	2.33	2.30	2.38
To help carry on our family name and traditions	2.16	2.34	2.24
I want to have a boy, another boy	2.03	2.01	1.98
I want to have a girl, another girl	2.05	2.08	2.04
Some relatives feel that I should have more children	1.32	1.45	1.27
To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	2.47	2.45	2.38
It is my religious duty to have children	2.20	2.05	1.96
So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	2.34	2.21	2.14
Having another child will make my marriage stronger	2.33	2.30	2.21
To provide a companion for my child, children	2.24	2.21	2.27
I enjoy caring for and raising children	2.15	2.18	2.18
My spouse wants more children	1.87	1.87	1.74
It is fun to have children around the house	2.44	2.46	2.46
Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	2.52	2.47	2.49
I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and a child	2.61	2.55	2.69

Table 5.18 *(continued)*

Value	Level of efficacy		
	Externals	Midternals	Internals
I want to share what I have and what I know with children	2.52	2.58	2.67
I want to be sure to have enough children to survive to adulthood	2.58	2.41	2.35
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	2.41	2.31	2.26
Spouse does not want any more children	1.90	1.76	1.60
Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	1.93	1.61	1.40
Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	2.09	1.87	1.57
I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	1.78	1.62	1.40
I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	2.38	2.26	2.22
Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	2.24	1.84	1.53
I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	2.31	1.99	1.78
Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	2.15	1.90	1.66
(Number of respondents)	(99)	(179)	(111)

two groups, even though their estimate of costs is lower. This finding applies not only to financial costs but also to a number of other negative motives, particularly work-and-bother and restrictions on freedom. Similarly, most of the other values to which internals assign less importance have a more negative effect, for them, on additional children desired than for externals or midternals. Thus desiring economic help from children is related to a lower number of additional children desired for internals. Family continuity, which generally has a positive relation to additional children desired, has a negative relation for internals. Large-family benefits have a positive relation to additional children desired for externals, but no relation for internals. Decision-mindedness (VDECN) and external pressures on childbearing (VPRES) relate positively to additional children desired for externals but negatively for internals. Looking at effects on ideal family size, one

Table 5.19 Correlations of values with family-size desires, by level of personal efficacy

Value	Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled			Ideal family size: zero-order			Parity: partials, with marital duration controlled		
	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals
Burden of education	-.06	.04	-.02	-.19	.18	.13	-.01	.06	.25
Number considered heavy burden	.13	.28	.25	.37	.46	.22	.27	.29	.22
Economic impact	.17	.17	.14	.17	.19	.04	.01	.07	.22
Expected help	.22	.21	-.21	.19	.29	.12	-.14	.01	.16
Decline in utility	-.21	-.07	.02	-.01	-.20	-.02	.10	.09	-.03
Large-family benefits	.15	.11	.01	.10	.11	.19	.10	.08	.12
Family continuity	.16	.18	-.15	.22	.20	.02	-.06	-.06	.04
Costs of children	.07	-.20	-.17	-.07	-.11	.04	-.04	-.04	.18
Role expression	-.10	.10	-.11	.11	.19	-.17	.01	-.03	-.08
Decision-mindedness	.02	.11	-.18	.02	.23	-.10	-.09	.08	-.11
Incentive value	-.02	-.02	.08	.06	.05	-.06	.03	.07	.02
Emotional rewards	-.04	.13	-.02	.06	.16	.04	.03	.01	.09
Parental satisfactions	.10	.14	-.02	.13	.13	.00	-.07	.03	-.04
External pressures	.15	.04	-.09	.17	.04	-.00	-.09	-.07	.02
I enjoy having a small baby	.15	.26	-.02	.20	.00	.04	-.17	-.16	-.16
To help carry on our family name and traditions	.17	.15	-.03	.17	.08	.12	-.18	-.17	-.12
I want to have a boy, another boy	.29	.33	.28	.19	-.02	-.06	-.14	-.27	-.16
I want to have a girl, another girl	.25	.24	.26	.22	-.01	-.02	-.17	-.18	-.25

Some relatives feel that I should have more children	.31	.10	.02	.15	.08	.06	-.28	-.06	-.20
To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	.23	.17	-.26	.18	.14	-.04	-.11	-.12	.13
It is my religious duty to have children	.27	.26	-.23	.15	.15	.03	-.16	-.26	-.18
So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	.18	.24	-.18	.14	.19	.09	-.09	-.13	.11
Having another child will make my marriage stronger	.29	.24	-.23	.21	.01	-.08	-.05	-.25	-.03
To provide a companion for my child, children	.28	.25	.26	.21	-.00	-.05	-.18	-.25	-.34
I enjoy caring for and raising children	.32	.29	.07	.24	.20	-.12	-.10	-.12	-.23
My spouse wants more children	.25	.36	.05	.11	.14	-.04	-.29	-.13	-.24
It is fun to have children around the house	.25	.24	.16	.26	.08	.01	-.15	-.27	-.19
Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	.20	.29	.08	.19	.07	-.13	.00	-.16	-.28
I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and a child	.23	.22	.02	.14	.10	-.22	.01	-.26	-.24
I want to share what I have and what I know with children	.23	.21	-.12	.13	.10	-.14	.09	-.12	-.22
I want to be sure to have enough children to survive to adulthood	.22	.18	-.08	.23	.14	-.16	-.10	-.12	-.14
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	-.20	-.19	-.35	-.15	.07	.01	.37	.02	.21
Spouse does not want any more children	-.03	-.12	-.15	-.02	.07	.03	.20	.13	.03

Table 5.19 *(continued)*

Value	Additional children desired: partials, with parity controlled			Ideal family size: zero-order			Parity: partials, with marital duration controlled		
	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals
Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	.05	-.09	-.24	.03	-.08	-.05	.23	-.08	-.02
Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	-.13	-.13	-.28	-.12	-.05	-.06	.27	.10	.06
I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	.30	-.05	-.06	.08	.05	.09	-.08	-.14	.05
I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	-.08	-.14	-.09	.05	-.08	-.00	.05	.06	.11
Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	-.18	-.13	-.22	-.26	.01	.00	.08	.11	.10
I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	.04	-.18	-.11	.04	-.03	-.19	.20	.10	.08
Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	-.16	-.15	-.23	-.14	.04	-.16	.22	.04	-.03

observes similar differences between internals and externals for family continuity and external pressures.

For the positive motivational items the results are curious and deserve special examination. Efficacy does not moderate the effects of desire for a boy, desire for a girl, or companionship for children; and it hardly affects fun of having children around the house. These items are therefore the most predictive of additional children desired for all groups of respondents. Efficacy reduces the effects of most of the other positive motives; and four of these, which imply assistance from children or external pressures to have children,[4] in fact relate negatively to additional children desired for internals. Efficacy also reduces the effects of the positive motives on ideal family size (this reduction is less striking); and this time desire for a boy, desire for a girl, companionship for children, and fun to have children are not excluded.

This last finding is difficult to interpret. Accepting some simplification, one could say that efficacy generally moderates the effects of disvalues by leading an individual to minimize costs (or possibly to consider them realistically rather than to exaggerate them) and at the same time to weigh them more carefully in relation to the individual's family-size desires. As far as disvalues are concerned, the general prediction for the moderating effect of efficacy appears to hold. In a different manner, efficacy also moderates the effects of those values that imply or involve dependence on others, whether this means dependence on one's own children, on relatives in making decisions, or on kin group support. All these values are less important for internals and, contrary to the case with externals, are not related to family-size desires. They do in fact have some negative influence on family-size desires for internals, and this influence may suggest some degree of reaction formation.

Some of these moderating effects of efficacy are parallel to the moderating effects of urban as against rural residence. To determine whether urban residence explains the effects of efficacy or vice versa, correlations with additional children desired were calculated separately for urban externals, urban midternals, urban internals, rural externals, rural midternals, and rural internals (Table 5.20). Because the rural-external and rural-internal groups are small, with only 35 and 27 mem-

4 "To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me," "Because it is my religious duty to have children," "So that there will be one more person to help our family economically," "Because having another child will make my marriage stronger."

bers respectively, correlations for them are somewhat less reliable than for the other groups.

The results are complicated but appear to support the conclusion that efficacy is a more basic moderating variable than residence. Most of the moderating effects of efficacy just discussed appear clearly across the three urban groups, and most effects with the motivational items also appear across the rural groups. If one compares urban and rural groups matched for efficacy, on the other hand, one finds little consistency in the urban-rural differences.

To take specific variables, financial burden of another child has a more negative effect on additional children desired for internals in both the urban and the rural cases; on the other hand, out of three possible comparisons it has a more negative effect for urban than for rural respondents only once. Almost similar observations could be made regarding the negative motives restriction of freedom and work-and-bother. Regarding costs of children (VCOST), the moderating effect of efficacy is less clear, since it is confirmed across the urban groups but contradicted across the rural groups. But the effect of residence is not consistent either. To turn to the positive motives, no urban-rural differences were previously found regarding their effects, and no consistent differences appear with efficacy controlled; but efficacy has a relatively clear effect for both urban and rural respondents. With particular exceptions (principally desire for a boy, desire for a girl, and companionship for children), the positive motivational items have a stronger effect on additional children desired for externals and a weaker or even negative effect for internals in both cases. Expected economic help was previously found to affect additional children desired differently for urban and rural respondents, as well as for internals and externals. The urban-rural difference (that urban respondents discount help but rural respondents do not) appears for midternals and internals. The efficacy effect (that internals, unlike externals, discount help) appears for urban respondents. One might conclude that a high-level interaction exists: urban internals attach less importance to expected help than anyone else and largely account for the urban-rural as well as the efficacy differences. For several of the VOC subscores (family continuity, decision-mindedness, and external pressures) the situation is somewhat similar, with efficacy acting as a moderator variable mainly among urban respondents.

A final note might be added about two social-demographic variables, income and media exposure, that were previously shown to have differential effect on additional children desired for urban and rural re-

Table 5.20 Correlations between values and number of additional children desired, with parity controlled, by level of personal efficacy and residence

	Urban			Rural		
Value	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals
Burden of education	-.10	-.01	.03	.04	-.05	.01
Number considered heavy burden	-.03	.30	.32	.42	.32	.02
Economic impact	.01	.16	.09	.46	.11	.48
Expected help	.19	.06	-.21	.17	.28	.25
Decline in utility	-.07	.05	-.05	-.34	.00	.10
Large-family benefits	.09	.16	.06	.24	.10	-.20
Family continuity	.22	.14	-.12	.01	.21	.04
Costs of children	.24	-.16	-.24	-.21	-.23	.16
Role expression	.08	.03	-.13	-.48	.17	.15
Decision-mindedness	.02	.16	-.18	-.09	-.06	.03
Incentive value	-.00	-.01	.10	.00	-.09	.04
Emotional rewards	.14	.01	.04	-.39	.17	-.15
Parental satisfactions	.16	.17	.02	.03	.11	-.09
External pressures	.35	.13	-.10	-.20	-.05	.03
I enjoy having a small baby	.14	.18	-.04	.09	.27	.33
To help carry on our family name and traditions	.10	.05	-.00	.26	.16	.16
I want to have a boy, another boy	.30	.24	.36	.29	.30	.01
I want to have a girl, another girl	.25	.27	.28	.20	.18	.24
Some relatives feel that I should have more children	.48	.14	.16	-.00	-.04	-.14
To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me	.23	.10	-.24	.15	.14	-.07
It is my religious duty to have children	.24	.23	-.14	.26	.26	-.41
So that there will be one more person to help our family economically	.22	.18	-.18	-.02	.18	.12
Having another child will make my marriage stronger	.28	.16	-.18	.20	.26	-.29

Table 5.20 *(continued)*

Value	Urban			Rural		
	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals
To provide a companion for my child, children	.27	.25	.31	.27	.18	.18
I enjoy caring for and raising children	.26	.30	.08	.40	.19	.23
My spouse wants more children	.28	.44	.08	.20	.19	.05
It is fun to have children around the house	.25	.28	.20	.29	.13	.08
Raising children helps me to learn about life and myself	.17	.32	.15	.14	.22	-.15
I want the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and a child	.23	.19	.09	.19	.22	-.30
I want to share what I have and what I know with children	.20	.21	-.11	.25	.19	-.06
I want to be sure to have enough children to survive to adulthood	.18	.26	-.05	.26	.02	.03
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	-.17	-.40	-.32	-.20	-.03	-.55
Spouse does not want any more children	.09	-.17	.08	-.16	-.06	-.33
Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	-.01	-.18	-.29	.26	.04	-.01
Another child would be a lot of work and bother for me	-.12	-.20	-.33	-.12	-.00	-.02
I could not spend as much time together with my spouse	.19	-.11	-.08	.51	-.04	.08
I am concerned about the problem of overpopulation	-.01	-.10	-.08	-.17	-.16	-.19
Caring for another child would be an emotional strain for me	-.15	-.23	-.28	-.18	-.07	.09
I would not be able to give enough care and attention to my other child, children	-.03	-.23	-.13	.22	-.10	-.04

Table 5.20 *(continued)*

Value	Urban			Rural		
	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals	Ex-ternals	Mid-ternals	In-ternals
Having another child would cause problems and strains between me and my spouse	-.23	-.24	-.27	.03	-.07	-.02
Media exposure	.13	.15	.18	-.01	-.25	.20
Income	.09	.20	.30	.29	-.08	.03
(Number of respondents)	(64)	(114)	(84)	(35)	(65)	(27)

spondents. As shown at the bottom of Table 5.20, the effect of income is positively related to efficacy, the pattern being inverse to the pattern for costs of children (VCOST). The effect of the media appears to be mainly on rural midternals, reducing their desire for additional children.

Summary

The attempt to predict family-size desires from values and disvalues has been successful in some respects and less successful in others. Particular values and disvalues have been shown to have some effect, and situations under which they do and do not have an effect have been delineated. The main points that stand out from the analysis are these:

1. Respondents in this sample had slightly over three children and desired on the average one more child, and, consistent with this, had a mean ideal family size close to four. This ideal was below what they perceived as typical in their communities, and well below the size of their own families of orientation. Urban lower-class respondents had the smallest ideals.

2. The salience of particular values and disvalues was not predictive of family-size desires. Because a particular value was readily verbalized, family-size ideals did not necessarily change. In fact the limited evidence is that size ideals affected value salience rather than vice versa.

3. The most predictive indices of values and disvalues were those that were parity-specific. Consequently the number of additional children desired, which was itself an index of family-size desires specific to one's situation, was better predicted than ideal family size.

4. Parity could not be predicted from current values and disvalues. Even when values were expressed in general, abstract terms, these expressions tended to be influenced by previous childbearing. The assumption that general child values and disvalues are stable over time cannot be accepted.

5. The particular number-specific values that had the greatest differential effect on additional children desired (parity being controlled) had to do with companionship for siblings, the desire for a boy or a girl, fun around the house, enjoying raising children, and the spouse's desire for children. One way to conceptualize these values—which generally correlate—is that they have to do with the rewarding effects of children on social relationships, including rewarding aspects of interaction with children themselves.

6. Among the disvalues affecting number of additional children desired, the economic were the most prominent. The number of children considered a heavy financial burden was one index of economic costs that was particularly predictive, not only of additional children desired but also of ideal family size; but other indices were also useful predictors.

7. Expected economic help from children increased family-size desires (both additional children desired and ideal family size) for rural but not urban respondents. Financial costs of children, on the other hand, had more effect in reducing family-size desires for urban than for rural respondents.

8. Aside from values and disvalues, the social-status variables had an interesting pattern of differential effects in the urban and rural cases. Whereas income increased number of additional children desired in the urban case—a finding that is consistent with the negative effect of costs for urban respondents—media exposure decreased additional children desired in the rural case, the two effects being confounded because of intercorrelations among indices related to social status. Parallel though weaker effects appeared where ideal family size was used as the dependent variable.

9. A number of the urban-rural differences can be explained using the variable of personal efficacy. More efficacious respondents weighed the costs of children more carefully in formulating their family-size desires, discounted the importance of assistance from children, and rejected pressures from others to have children.

6

values, disvalues, and family planning

While values and disvalues attached to children affect family-size desires, no evidence has been produced so far to show that they actually affect childbearing. We have seen that it is inappropriate to attempt to predict parity, which is the result of previous fertility behavior, from currently held values. Accordingly, we turn in this chapter to consideration of current behavior—i.e., to the practice of family planning.

Other factors besides child values should affect contraceptive use. Sexual practices, legal restrictions, popular definitions of immoral behavior, and other culturally induced and interpersonally variable attitudes can increase or reduce the physical and psychological availability of contraception. Some of these factors can be controlled in our analysis through the introduction of social-demographic variables in a regression framework. Other variables we did not attempt to measure. In relation to family planning behaviors, child values may be considered terminal values, relating to the goal or eventual outcome of such behaviors. Medial values, or values relating to the acceptability of various means for attaining a given goal, presumably also exist and can be measured, but they were not included in this study. Hence we should expect to explain somewhat less of the variance in contraceptive behavior than in family-size desires.

194

Contraceptive practice and attitudes toward birth control

More than half of the sample, 54 percent to be exact, reported that they were currently using some form of birth control (Table 6.1). While the percentage is slightly higher for urban middle-class respondents, almost half the respondents in the other two subgroups also were practicing contraception. Nonusers were asked whether they had used contraception in the past and whether they planned to practice it in the future. These questions enabled us to classify nonusers under one of four headings: interrupters, for those who had used contraception in the past and planned to use it again in the future, even though they were not currently using it; projected adopters, for those who planned to use it in the future but had never used it before; discontinuers, for those who had used it in the past but had no intention of using it again; or rejecters, for those who had never used it and did not plan to use it. Respondents who believed themselves to be infecund were excluded from this classification. The projected adopters were the largest of these nonuser groups, 19 percent of the total. Interrupters comprised 12 percent and rejecters 13 percent, whereas discontinuers accounted for only 2 percent. There were fewer interrupters and more rejecters among rural respondents than among urban respondents.

The most common method in current use was the pill (27 percent

Table 6.1 Contraceptive use
(Percentage of respondents, by user status and subgroup)

User status	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Adopter	60	52	49	53	55	54
Projected adopter (no past or present use)	15	21	22	19	20	19
Interrupter[a] (past and future but no present use)	14	15	6	11	12	12
Discontinuer (past use only)	1	2	4	2	2	2
Rejector	10	10	19	15	11	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(135)	(126)	(121)	(198)	(184)	(382)

a Among the interrupting couples, half of the wives were pregnant.

Table 6.2 Contraceptive methods known and used

Method	Percentage of respondents			Primary method currently used (percentage of current users only)
	Knowing of method	Knowing how to use method	Having used method	
Withdrawal	76	67	36	15
Rhythm	74	57	32	20
Condom	68	48	12	4
Diaphragm	44	24	1	0
IUD	82	52	16	17
Pill	95	68	31	27
Tubal ligation	42	25	2	17
Vasectomy	32	18	0	
Others[a]	na	na	na	
Total	na	na	na	100
(Number of respondents)	(373)	(373)	(373)	(205)

na—not applicable.

a Including combinations of methods.

of users), followed by rhythm (20 percent). (See Table 6.2). The intrauterine device (IUD) and withdrawal also had some users in this sample, condoms and diaphragms hardly any. Of those who had used the IUD in the past, 58 percent were still using the same method. The percentage was 47 percent for the pill, 34 percent for rhythm, and 23 percent for withdrawal. The methods most used were also the methods best known.

The number generally approving of birth control (85 percent) was almost exactly equal to the number of those using or planning to use contraception (Tables 6.3 and 6.1). Approval was slightly lower among rural residents. Most of those approving approved "strongly" rather than "slightly." Considering specific reasons for contraception, nine out of ten supported its use to space births or to put an end to childbearing after having all the children desired. On the other hand, only a quarter approved of contraception to delay the first child. Most respondents had discussed family planning with their spouses, and the majority knew of close friends or relatives who used contraception. There were no urban-rural differences on these items.

Respondents were also asked about abortion, and their attitudes provide a contrast to attitudes toward contraception. Only 9 percent approved of abortion, whereas 76 percent disapproved "strongly."

Table 6.3 Attitudes toward contraception and abortion

Situation	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Contraception						
Percentage generally approving of birth control	86	90	78	88	83	85
Percentage "strongly approving" (on a five-point scale)	62	58	52	55	60	58
Percentage approving						
To delay first child	29	21	25	28	22	25
For spacing after first child	92	94	87	95	87	91
After having all children desired	92	93	88	94	88	91
Percentage having talked about family planning with spouse	85	80	81	81	83	82
Percentage knowing close friends or relatives who use contraception	68	69	71	71	67	69
Abortion						
Percentage generally approving of abortion	10	11	6	8	10	9
Percentage "strongly disapproving" (on a five-point scale)	75	71	84	79	73	76
Percentage approving						
If childbirth is dangerous to wife	88	81	86	85	86	85
If couple cannot afford child	34	38	30	36	33	34
In case of rape	36	29	27	30	33	31
If pregnancy interferes with wife's career	14	14	9	14	11	13
Percentage whose close friends or relatives consider abortion shameful	55	49	66	56	56	56
Percentage whose close friends or relatives do not consider abortion shameful	18	16	13	13	19	16

Nevertheless, when specific reasons for seeking abortion were presented, approval increased dramatically. Eighty-five percent of respondents approved if childbirth was "dangerous to the wife." About one-third approved in cases of rape or if the couple could not afford a child. If the pregnancy might interfere with the wife's career, 13 percent approved, a still higher proportion than the percentage giving general approval. It would seem that objections to abortion are not absolute and can be overcome, at least at the verbal level, when concrete, practical reasons for it are given.

Family-size desires and contraception

From the strong approval of contraception and the wide knowledge of particular methods reported by Filipino respondents, one would expect that those who desired no additional children would readily resort to family planning. Table 6.4 indicates that this inference is not necessarily correct. There were in fact more current users among those who wanted one additional child than among those who wanted no more

Table 6.4 Contraceptive use, by number of additional children desired (Percentage of respondents)

	Additional children desired				
User status	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Adopter	58	65	40	61	35
Pill, IUD, others[a]	39	34	13	13	18
Rhythm	13	20	21	26	18
Withdrawal	6	11	6	22	0
Projected adopter (no past or present use)	14	18	34	26	12
Interrupter (past and future but no present use)	12	4	21	4	0
Discontinuer (past use only)	2	2	0	0	18
Rejector	13	11	6	9	35
Total[b]	99	100	101	100	100
(Number of respondents)	(208)	(55)	(53)	(23)	(17)

a "Others" category consists of other modern methods and of combinations of methods.

b Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

children. Among those wanting no more children, 42 percent nevertheless were not practicing contraception. Among those desiring additional children, 51 percent were practicing contraception, presumably in order to postpone births. The expectable decline in current use as the number of additional children desired increases does not emerge, except for the group wanting four or more additional children, among whom there were more rejecters and discontinuers than among the other groups.

If one looks at particular methods in search of a trend, one finds that the use of rhythm and of withdrawal is erratic and apparently unrelated to the number of additional children desired. The use of the remaining methods as a group, most common of which are the pill and the IUD, is much more consistent with the number of additional children wanted, being highest when that number is zero, dropping slightly when it is one, and dropping sharply for two or more.

It is possible that withdrawal and rhythm are used mainly for spacing or by those who are not quite set in their minds about avoiding additional children, whereas those who have made firmer decisions adopt other methods. This hypothesis is further supported by the finding that respondents using rhythm had 3.0 children on the average and those using withdrawal only 2.4, but those using the pill, the IUD, and other methods had an average of 3.9. By comparison, projected adopters averaged 2.7 children, interrupters 3.2 children, and rejecters and discontinuers combined 3.2 also.

The relationship between the number of additional children desired and the use of more effective methods is stronger for urban than for rural respondents (Table 6.5). None of the three subgroups shows a consistent relation between additional children desired and the use of all methods combined. When users of rhythm and withdrawal are separated, however, both urban groups show a tendency to use the remaining methods more as they desire fewer children, while for rural respondents the trend is not clear. For rhythm (which is somewhat more popular among the urban middle-class) and for withdrawal there is virtually no trend for any group.

In considering urban-rural differences in the number of additional children desired (Chapter 5), we showed that the sense of personal efficacy was a major, perhaps the major, explanatory factor. Internals tended to base their family-size desires more clearly on perceptions of the costs of children. A plausible argument could be made that this type of rationality would extend to family planning, that internals would be more likely to adopt contraception on the basis of the num-

Table 6.5 Current use of various contraceptive methods, by number of additional children desired and subgroup
(Percentage of respondents)

Method	Additional children desired	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample
Pill, IUD, others[a]	0	44	42	30	41	37	39
	1	22	30	47	35	34	34
	2 or more	12	6	19	14	14	14
	Combined	32	32	28	33	28	31
Rhythm	0	14	10	13	11	15	12
	1	22	30	5	17	22	20
	2 or more	32	12	14	12	30	22
	Combined	20	14	12	12	20	15
Withdrawal	0	4	5	10	7	6	6
	1	33	7	5	17	6	11
	2 or more	10	0	11	9	8	9
	Combined	8	6	9	8	7	8
All methods	0	62	58	53	59	57	58
	1	78	67	58	70	62	65
	2 or more	54	19	44	35	52	44
	Combined	60	52	49	53	55	54

a "Others" category consists of other modern methods and of combinations of methods.

ber of children they wanted, and the internal-external difference would underlie the rural-urban difference in the use of more effective methods.[1]

For the Philippine sample the relationship between additional children desired and the adoption of particular methods, by level of effi-

1 Williamson (1970) reports a different and more direct relation between efficacy and birth control. For four out of five developing countries (including Israel), efficacy contributed independently to increasing favorability toward birth control or served as an intervening variable through which social characteristics had their effects. For the current sample the correlation between efficacy and approval of contraception is .12, lower than the correlation in any of the four countries for which Williamson noted an effect. Measurement and sampling differences could of course be responsible, but the basic argument here is that the effects of efficacy are more complex than Williamson assumed. (See also Fawcett and Bornstein, 1973.)

cacy, provides something of a surprise (Table 6.6). First, internals were less likely to use the pill, the IUD, and other more effective methods and more likely to use rhythm. Second, for all methods combined it was externals rather than internals who were more consistent, adopting contraception when they wanted no or one additional child and not adopting otherwise. Third, when one excludes rhythm and withdrawal, externals remained more consistent: between those wanting no more children and those wanting two or more additional children there is a 43 percent drop in adoption of the more effective methods among externals but only a 17 percent drop among internals. If one controls for efficacy and residence simultaneously, the frequencies in each cell become quite small, but they do not invalidate the differences between externals and internals. Clearly efficacy does not explain the urban-rural difference but provides other puzzles. While no

Table 6.6 Current use of various contraceptive methods, by number of additional children desired and level of personal efficacy
(Percentage of respondents)

Method	Additional children desired	Level of efficacy		
		Externals	Midternals	Internals
Pill, IUD, others[a]	0	49	40	29
	1	46	37	20
	2 or more	6	20	12
	Combined	40	35	22
Rhythm	0	15	10	15
	1	8	15	40
	2 or more	11	15	35
	Combined	13	12	25
Withdrawal	0	5	4	10
	1	8	11	13
	2 or more	11	12	3
	Combined	7	7	8
All methods	0	69	54	54
	1	62	63	73
	2 or more	28	46	50
	Combined	59	54	56

a "Others" category consists of other modern methods and of combinations of methods.

complete explanation for the effects of efficacy can be provided, some possibilities might be suggested. Externals may be more disposed to accept influence from family planning program personnel and to use methods recommended to them. Internals, on the other hand, may have a stronger desire to control the spacing of their children, and they may also have greater confidence in their own ability to follow the discipline of rhythm.

Besides looking at current practice of contraception, one may also look at when contraception was first practiced, excluding those who never used it, and how the timing of first use relates to family-size ideals. Only 6 percent of current or past users practiced contraception before having the first child, 24 percent after the first child but before the second (if any), 22 percent after the second child but before the third, and the remaining 48 percent after having at least three children (Table 6.7). A majority of 63 percent nevertheless initially adopted contraception before they had reached their own ideal number, and only 11 percent of current or past adopters delayed until after their ideal was exceeded. Current users of rhythm and withdrawal were relatively earlier adopters than current users of other methods, though even among the latter, half initially used some method before reaching their ideal.

The size of this ideal makes some difference in the timing of adoption. If the number is larger, respondents were more likely to practice contraception before reaching it (Table 6.8). The pattern does not differ much between subgroups, although urban middle-class adopters were slightly less likely than the other socioeconomic groups to use contraception before attaining their ideal. When the pattern of initial practice is examined across different levels of efficacy, three-fourths of internals adopted before attaining their ideal, compared with only one-half of externals (Table 6.9). This contrast holds true regardless of the actual size of the ideals.

One must conclude that the link between family-size desires and contraceptive practice was not strong for this sample, partly because a number of respondents did not adopt contraception despite wanting to limit their families, and partly because many who did adopt some method did so before fulfilling their family-size desires—possibly for spacing, because of ambivalence regarding their desires, or because their ideal numbers used to be smaller and had since increased. Early adoption was more common among internals, who simultaneously favored rhythm over other methods. Further analysis of the sequence of methods used and the actual reasons for adoption would be desirable, but such data are not available from this survey.

Other factors, such as knowledge and availability of contraceptives, may intervene between family-size desires and contraceptive usage. Desiring fewer additional children appears to be better related to approval of contraception than to actual practice, since there is a consistent decline in approval as the number of additional children desired rises (Table 6.8). Within subgroups, however, the trend is not consistent, and for the urban lower class it is in fact reversed. All these results reduce our expectations of links between child values and family planning, to which we now turn.

Table 6.7 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by adopter status
(Percentage of adopters)

Timing	Current users					
	Pill, IUD, others[a]	Rhythm	With-drawal	Inter-rupters	Discon-tinuers	All adopters
Before 1st child	1	8	4	18	0	6
After 1st child	14	41	37	20	29	24
2nd child	22	22	26	18	43	22
3rd child	18	17	11	20	0	17
4th child	24	7	18	7	14	16
5th child	11	5	4	2	0	7
6th child	10	0	0	14	14	7
Total[b]	100	100	100	99	100	99
(Number of respondents)	(117)	(59)	(27)	(44)	(7)	(254)
Before reaching ideal family size	51	80	70	68	71	63
At ideal family size	37	12	26	18	14	26
After exceeding ideal family size	12	8	4	14	14	11
Total[b]	100	100	100	100	99	100
(Number of respondents)	(117)	(59)	(27)	(44)	(7)	(254)

a "Others" category consists of other modern methods and of combinations of methods.

b Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 6.8 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by ideal family size and subgroup
(Percentage of adopters)

Ideal family size (IFS)	Timing	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All adopters
0–2	Before IFS	14	61	60	32	56	45
	At IFS	64	26	40	42	39	40
	After IFS	21	13	0	26	4	14
3	Before IFS	60	56	64	66	52	60
	At IFS	24	25	18	21	26	23
	After IFS	16	19	18	14	22	17
4	Before IFS	57	71	64	66	61	64
	At IFS	29	21	25	24	27	25
	After IFS	14	7	11	10	12	11
5 or more	Before IFS	85	67	74	71	82	77
	At IFS	11	33	22	23	18	20
	After IFS	4	0	4	6	0	3
All sizes	Before IFS	59	65	68	62	65	63
	At IFS	28	26	24	26	26	26
	After IFS	13	10	8	12	9	11

Predicting contraceptive practice

Following the model presented in the previous chapter (Exhibit 5.2), we ran regressions to predict current practice of contraception, scored as a dummy variable. Little of the variance in contraceptive practice is accounted for, the coefficient of determination for the combined sample being only .12. The *F*-ratios presented in Table 6.10 indicate that only the social-demographic block of variables has a significant partial effect, and then only for urban and female respondents. The likelihood of contraceptive practice is higher at higher parities (Table 6.11), is higher for younger respondents (with parity controlled), and among women is higher for those who want fewer or no additional children. Education increases contraceptive practice for rural but not for urban respondents. Neither child values nor perceptions of the economic utility of children affect contraceptive practice. Assuming that child values affect contraceptive practice through their effect on the number of additional children desired, one would not expect the value indices to make significant contributions in the regressions, but would

Table 6.9 Timing of initial contraceptive use, by ideal family size and level of personal efficacy
(Percentage of adopters)

Ideal family size (IFS)	Timing	Level of efficacy		
		Externals	Midternals	Internals
0–2	Before IFS	29	35	67
	At IFS	57	45	27
	After IFS	14	20	7
3	Before IFS	52	53	79
	At IFS	29	18	21
	After IFS	19	29	0
4	Before IFS	57	62	70
	At IFS	33	25	20
	After IFS	10	12	10
5 or more	Before IFS	60	76	94
	At IFS	40	18	6
	After IFS	0	5	0
All sizes	Before IFS	53	61	76
	At IFS	36	25	19
	After IFS	11	14	5

Table 6.10 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on current contraceptive use
(*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	.68	1.44	1.28	.57	.58	.40	(13)
Economic perceptions	.91	.86	1.79	.15	.79	.92	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics[a]	2.87†	1.62	2.21*	1.53	3.00†	2.77†	(10)
All variables	1.46	1.48	1.85*	.97	1.71*	1.58*	(28)
(df_2)	(233)	(98)	(173)	(158)	(360)	(313)	

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .01$.

a Including number of additional children desired.

Table 6.11 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of current contraceptive use

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Additional children desired	-.13	-.05	-.22†	-.05	-.08	-.10	-.13
Parity	.32†	.27	.17	.24	.24†	.18	.10
Marital duration	-.18	-.20	-.01	-.11	-.09	-.03	-.04
Age	-.13	-.16	-.28†	-.14	-.17†	-.21†	-.11
Education	-.07	.32†	.08	.10	.10	.14	.12
Urbanism	.05	.06	-.03	.08	.05	.05	.12
Media exposure	.07	-.08	.07	.00	.03	-.00	.08
Income	.11	-.19	.04	.04	-.01	.01	.05
Wife currently working	-.18*	.10	-.04	-.10	-.09	-.13*	-.09
Pregnancy loss	-.02	-.03	.04	-.12	-.04	-.02	-.06
Burden of education	.04	.11	.11	-.02	.05	.08	-.01
Number considered heavy burden	.03	.09	.11	-.00	.07	.07	.06
Economic impact	-.06	-.08	-.16*	-.01	-.08	-.07	-.08
Expected help	-.09	.14	-.06	.09	-.01	.03	-.04
Decline in utility	.10	-.02	.10	.02	.05	.04	.07
Large-family benefits	-.09	.19*	.13	.01	.06	.02	.04
Family continuity	.13	-.05	.20*	-.03	.07	.06	-.01
Costs of children	-.12	.04	-.06	-.10	-.06	-.08	-.06
Role expression	-.04	-.03	-.02	.03	-.01	.03	-.01
Decision-mindedness	.01	.03	-.04	.06	.01	-.00	-.01
Incentive value	-.04	.06	-.05	.01	.01	.02	.04
Emotional rewards	-.02	.13	-.07	.04	.00	-.03	.00
Parental satisfactions	-.02	-.14	-.02	-.08	-.05	-.06	-.05
External pressures	.00	-.16	.01	-.02	-.02	.01	-.08
I want to have a boy, another boy	.07	-.01	-.05	.10	.01	.01	-.06
I want to have a girl, another girl	-.01	-.25*	-.14	-.03	-.09	-.07	-.12
To provide a companion for my child, children	.11	.06	.20*	-.10	.06	.03	-.05

Table 6.11 *(continued)*

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	.06	-.03	.12	-.08	.02	.04	.02
R^2	.15	.30	.23	.15	.12	.12	

* $t > 1.96$–1.99 (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58$–2.64, $p < .01$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with current contraceptive use for total sample.

still expect large zero-order correlations between values and contraceptive practice. Nevertheless, the correlations in the last column in Table 6.11 are quite small.

To investigate the possibility that not simply contraceptive practice but also the use of more effective methods is related to child values, an index of effectiveness of practice was created, with 4 representing the use of the pill, the IUD, or sterilization, 3 representing condoms or other methods, 2 representing rhythm or withdrawal, and 1 representing no current practice of contraception. The regression results using this index as a dependent variable are, however, practically identical with the previous results, although parity may be an even stronger predictor. Child values again have no effect. R^2 for the combined-sample regression stays at .12.

Since values relate so poorly to these indices of contraceptive practice, two other possible indices were considered, the total number of methods ever used and the timing of first contraceptive practice. Number of methods used is an ambiguous measure, since it may reflect determination to find a suitable and effective method or simple fecklessness about contraception. Regression results (Tables 6.12 and 6.13) indicate again the importance of the social-demographic variables and the inverse effects of parity and age. In addition education, urbanism, and pregnancy loss each relate to having used more methods. The only value index that has some effect is family continuity, which relates to having used fewer methods.

In predicting after which child contraception was initially practiced, we excluded those who had never used contraception; and parity, number of additional children desired, and parity-specific motives

were left out of the regressions because they could reasonably be seen as effects rather than causes of initial practice. The results (Tables 6.14 and 6.15) indicate that, when other factors are simultaneously controlled, younger respondents practiced contraception earlier; that education led to earlier use among urban and female respondents, but not among rural or male respondents; that the larger the number of children considered an economic burden, the later the initial practice; and that larger ideal family size also led to some delay in first use. Values have no consistent effect. In fact two positive values, large-family benefits and incentives to succeed (VINCT), slightly favor earlier rather than later use of contraception. These relations hold only among current or past users.

Contraceptive practice may not be linked to child values because of intervening situational factors, but simple approval of contraception may be more predictable. A final set of regressions was run using approval as the dependent variable. Social-demographic variables are still the most important predictors (Tables 6.16 and 6.17), but values have some effect. As with contraceptive practice, parity is related to approval (though not for male respondents) and number of additional children desired is related to disapproval. Women married longer were less approving. Among the value indices, family continuity is related to

Table 6.12 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on number of contraceptive methods ever used
(*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	.72	1.06	1.25	1.17	1.28	1.11	(13)
Economic perceptions	.17	1.44	1.81	.72	.22	.56	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics[a]	4.47††	2.59†	4.82††	2.57†	7.35††	8.20††	(10)
All variables	2.35††	2.30†	3.66††	2.46††	4.80††	4.89††	(28)
(df_2)	(233)	(98)	(173)	(158)	(360)	(313)	

† $p < .01$.

†† $p < .001$.

a Including number of additional children desired.

Table 6.13 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of number of contraceptive methods ever used

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Additional children desired	.03	.12	.06	.03	.07	.06	-.06
Parity	.26*	.33	.20	.31*	.28††	.34††	.14
Marital duration	-.07	-.06	-.05	-.09	-.08	-.07	.02
Age	-.22†	-.15	-.12	-.22*	-.19†	-.22††	-.06
Education	.17*	.35†	.22*	.19	.23††	.28††	.32
Urbanism	.16*	-.05	.21†	.07	.12*	.15†	.31
Media exposure	.10	-.02	.05	.14	.09	.09	.22
Income	-.05	-.03	-.08	-.06	-.08	-.12*	.17
Wife currently working	.10	.15	.14*	.06	.10*	.08	.16
Pregnancy loss	.13	.20*	.19†	.11	.15†	.14†	.16
Burden of education	-.01	-.03	.11	-.12	.00	.01	-.06
Number considered heavy burden	-.05	.03	-.00	-.04	-.02	-.07	-.03
Economic impact	.04	-.23*	-.14*	.04	-.04	-.04	-.11
Expected help	-.00	-.10	-.04	.08	.00	.04	.21
Decline in utility	.02	.02	.11	-.06	.02	-.01	.15
Large-family benefits	.04	.12	.10	.04	.07	.08	.06
Family continuity	-.16	-.22	.03	-.32†	-.15*	-.17*	-.23
Costs of children	.08	-.15	.09	-.04	.02	.02	-.03
Role expression	.06	.13	.07	.08	.06	.04	-.08
Decision-mindedness	.02	.07	-.01	.09	.03	.02	-.09
Incentive value	.08	.20*	.10	.04	.09	.07	.06
Emotional rewards	-.00	-.01	-.04	.01	.00	.03	-.08
Parental satisfactions	-.04	.01	-.01	-.03	-.04	-.01	-.10
External pressures	.03	-.01	.01	.02	.00	-.01	-.13
I want to have a boy, another boy	-.01	.13	-.01	.06	.01	.03	-.12
I want to have a girl, another girl	-.06	-.06	-.11	-.11	-.11	-.08	-.20

Table 6.13 *(continued)*

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
To provide a companion for my child, children	-.01	.02	.05	-.10	-.02	-.02	-.17
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	.06	.05	.12	-.07	.04	.04	.07
R^2	.22	.40	.37	.30	.27	.30	

* $t > 1.96–1.99$ (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.58–2.64$, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30–3.45$, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with number of methods ever used for total sample.

Table 6.14 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demcgraphic characteristics on timing of initial contraceptive use
(*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	2.14*	1.41	.84	1.31	.93	1.21	(9)
Economic perceptions	2.40*	1.23	1.22	4.20†	2.71*	1.71	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics[a]	6.70††	3.34†	8.15††	5.75††	9.26††	12.94††	(7)
All variables	4.57††	2.94†	4.63††	4.23††	5.47††	6.67††	(21)
(df_2)	(161)	(49)	(107)	(142)	(232)	(205)	

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .01$.

†† $p < .001$.

a Including ideal family size.

approval and external pressures (VPRES) to disapproval (though the rural sample is an exception to the latter). This finding suggests that approval of contraception stems from a pragmatic concern about the

Table 6.15 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of timing of initial contraceptive use

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Ideal family size	.12	.25*	.15	.12	.14*	.24††	.31
Age	.28††	.30*	.42††	.30††	.30††	.34††	.42
Education	-.30††	-.02	-.35††	-.02	-.24†	-.30††	-.23
Urbanism	.10	.04	.02	-.09	.01	-.00	-.11
Media exposure	.00	-.04	.08	-.04	.02	.02	-.05
Income	.06	.20	.07	.00	.08	.08	.04
Wife's employment history	.07	.06	-.08	.20†	.08	.01	.19
Burden of education	.02	.02	.01	.07	.02	.00	.12
Number considered heavy burden	.23†	.14	.18*	.24†	.21††	.14*	.31
Economic impact	.01	.04	-.08	.14	.03	.01	.11
Expected help	-.01	-.23*	-.04	-.11	-.07	-.08	.04
Decline in utility	.09	.08	-.05	.18*	.04	.09	-.02
Large-family benefits	-.20†	.02	-.00	-.17*	-.09	-.12*	.02
Family continuity	-.09	.14	.00	.10	.02	.07	.04
Costs of children	.18*	.20	.13	.14	.14*	.14*	.12
Role expression	.02	-.06	.02	-.11	-.01	.03	.03
Decision-mindedness	-.06	.17	-.06	.02	-.00	-.04	.05
Incentive value	.02	-.26*	-.16*	.04	-.04	-.02	-.02
Emotional rewards	.09	-.00	-.01	.12	.07	.05	.11
Parental satisfactions	.01	-.02	.03	-.06	-.02	-.07	.01
External pressures	.07	-.30*	-.08	-.11	-.07	-.06	.06
R^2	.37	.56	.48	.38	.33	.41	

* $t > 1.98–2.01$ (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

† $t > 2.61–2.68$, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.37–3.51$, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with timing of initial practice of birth control for total sample.

burdens that large families impose, whereas disapproval is related to susceptibility to external pressures, including religious pressures.

Family planning and value salience

Without assuming causal direction, we can look at correlations between the salience of particular advantages and disadvantages of children and the various family planning indices (Table 6.18). Only a few of these values appear to have any relation to family planning. The maturing effect of having children and the happiness they provide were mentioned by more current users than nonusers. The former value also relates to trying more methods and the latter value to adopting contraception earlier. These two positive values are related therefore to family limitation, or possibly to the desire to space children. Two other positive values—play and relief from strain, and incentives to succeed—also relate to earlier adoption. Expected economic assistance and practical help from children, on the other hand, have the opposite effect. The former relates to adopting contraception later and being generally less favorable toward it, and the latter to not using it at present and to having used fewer methods in the past. Having children as a religious obligation also relates to postponing initial adoption.

Among the disadvantages, current use is related to concern with

Table 6.16 Effects of values, economic perceptions, and social-demographic characteristics on approval of contraception (*F*-ratios from analyses of variance for regressions)

Block of variables	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	(df_1)
Values	2.17*	.91	1.59	1.47	2.15*	1.96*	(13)
Economic perceptions	2.05	1.20	.93	1.04	1.26	1.51	(5)
Social-demographic characteristics[a]	1.19	2.73†	2.05*	1.56	3.06†	1.67	(10)
All variables	1.88†	2.14†	1.86*	1.95†	2.85††	2.05†	(28)
(df_2)	(233)	(98)	(173)	(158)	(360)	(313)	

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .01$.

†† $p < .001$.

a Including number of additional children desired.

Table 6.17 Standardized regression coefficients in prediction of approval of contraception

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
Additional children desired	-.04	-.33†	-.15	-.22*	-.18†	-.04	-.21
Parity	.20	.34	.33†	-.01	.18*	.25†	.01
Marital duration	-.15	-.41*	-.26*	.00	-.14	-.15	-.08
Age	-.08	-.12	-.07	-.06	-.10	-.08	-.11
Education	.05	.06	.07	.06	.08	.07	.14
Urbanism	.02	-.03	.07	.02	.04	.06	.12
Media exposure	.12	-.01	.05	.14	.08	.07	.11
Income	.03	-.19	-.10	-.01	-.08	-.11	.02
Wife currently working	-.00	.14	.06	.10	.07	.06	.06
Pregnancy loss	.08	-.00	.07	-.03	.04	.03	.01
Burden of education	.07	-.09	-.03	-.02	-.01	.00	-.00
Number considered heavy burden	-.20†	.03	.02	-.11	-.07	-.10	-.13
Economic impact	-.00	-.20*	-.12	-.08	-.10	-.10	-.16
Expected help	-.00	.09	-.02	.13	.03	.06	-.06
Decline in utility	-.05	.01	.10	-.08	.01	.04	.10
Large-family benefits	-.04	.15	.08	-.02	.03	.05	.01
Family continuity	-.06	-.06	.03	-.29*	-.14	-.19*	-.13
Costs of children	.10	.16	.16*	.18*	.17†	.12	.11
Role expression	-.09	.05	-.01	.0[illegible]	-.04	-.0[illegible]	-.04
Decision-mindedness	.14*	-.11	.06	.08	.08	.08	.04
Incentive value	-.02	-.03	-.09	.05	-.01	-.04	-.01
Emotional rewards	.13	.10	.07	.05	.08	.07	-.02
Parental satisfactions	.05	.12	.18*	.04	.12*	.18†	.02
External pressures	-.32††	-.02	-.23†	-.15	-.20††	-.20†	-.15
I want to have a boy, another boy	-.05	-.06	-.05	.05	-.02	-.02	-.07
I want to have a girl, another girl	.11	-.15	.03	.01	.03	.00	-.07

Table 6.17 *(continued)*

Predictor	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total sample	Non-fatalist	r^a
To provide a companion for my child, children	.04	.06	.13	-.04	.05	.02	-.05
Having another child would be a financial burden for our family	.00	-.14	.04	-.16	-.07	-.08	.04
R^2	.18	.38	.23	.26	.18	.16	

* $t > 1.96$–1.99 (depending on subgroup), $p < .05$.

‡ $t > 2.58$–2.64, $p < .01$.

†† $t > 3.30$–3.45, $p < .001$.

a Zero-order correlation coefficient with approval of contraception for total sample.

disciplining children, and earlier adoption to general anxieties about children and concern with discipline. These disvalues relate logically to family-limitation behaviors. The disvalues of noise and disorder and of physical work, on the other hand, relate to having used fewer rather than more methods.

As we observed in connection with family-size desires, value salience does not have a simple relationship to family limitation. While one might expect the low salience of positive values and the high salience of disvalues to lead to contraceptive approval and use, this is not necessarily the case. Some positive values are related to contraceptive use, and some negative values to nonuse.

Summary

It has been shown that child values and disvalues had little effect on contraceptive practice for the present sample. The use of all methods combined was unrelated to family-size desires; and although the use of more effective methods was more common among those who wanted no additional children, the relationship was not strong. This is partly because much contraceptive use, particularly for these younger respondents, represented the postponement of births rather than an attempt to end childbearing. Consequently, the values underlying their family-size desires had little effect on their family planning. An argument could be made that values would have an impact on contraceptive

Table 6.18 Contraception and value salience
(Correlations with reduced set of advantages and disadvantages)

Reduced set		Current contraceptive use	Number of methods ever used	Timing of initial use	Approval of contraception
Advantages					
RA1	Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	-.05	-.03	.06	-.02
RA2	Love, affection	-.01	.04	-.03	-.03
RA3	Play, relief from strain	-.00	.10	-.14	.05
RA4	General happiness	.12	.05	-.13	.04
RA5	Maturity, adulthood, learning from child-rearing	.12	.18	-.02	.07
RA6	Incentives to succeed	-.12	.09	-.16	-.01
RA7	Fulfillment; extension of self, own values	-.05	-.03	.08	.09
RA8	Pleasure in children's growth	-.07	-.02	.01	-.01
RA9	To carry out parents' aspirations	.02	-.09	-.05	.01
RA10	Assistance in old age	.06	.01	.02	.07
RA11	Economic assistance; general help	.05	-.00	.13	-.13
RA12	Practical help with housework, on farm	-.11	-.13	.07	-.03
RA13	Bond between spouses; family life	-.00	.04	-.10	.09
RA14	Family traditions, name	-.10	.00	-.04	-.02
RA15	Religious obligations	.10	.07	.14	-.02
RA16	Social benefits	.02	-.01	.01	-.04
Disadvantages					
RD1	Educational costs	-.03	.06	.07	.03
RD2	Financial costs other than education	-.03	.06	.04	-.02
RD3	Responsibility of caring for children; health	-.04	.02	.03	.02
RD4	Discipline, moral behavior	.11	.06	-.11	.07
RD5	General anxieties about children	.05	.07	-.12	.09

Table 6.18 *(continued)*

Reduced set		Current contraceptive use	Number of methods ever used	Timing of initial use	Approval of contraception
Disadvantages *(continued)*					
RD6	Noise, disorder, nuisance	-.10	-.11	.06	.02
RD7	Pregnancy, maternal health problems	-.08	-.00	-.04	.03
RD8	Physical work due to children	-.01	-.10	.00	-.06
RD9	Restrictions on personal wants, own time, freedom	.04	.10	-.01	.03
RD10	Restriction on social life	.01	-.01	.04	.05
RD11	Restrictions on job, career	-.07	.03	-.04	.01

practice independent of the effect of family-size desires, through reflecting other dimensions of the desire for children that family-size desires would not adequately represent. This argument receives only limited support from our data.

Contraceptive practice was more likely, as one would expect, at higher rather than lower parities, and marginally less likely the more additional children were desired. When parity is controlled, younger respondents are more likely to have adopted contraception, and to have adopted it earlier, than older respondents. Education is related to trying more methods, among rural respondents to current practice of some method, and among urban users to earlier initial practice.

The following effects of values and economic perceptions emerge: perceptions that the financial burden of children is great even with few children lead to earlier practice; less concern with family continuity relates to trying more methods; the importance assigned to the costs of children increases approval of contraception; and greater sensitivity to external pressures reduces approval. Current practice of contraception and its earlier adoption are also related to the greater salience of such emotional values as happiness and maturation through childrearing, and to the lesser salience of economic and practical contributions from children. Earlier adoption is related to concern for discipline and to general anxieties, and the use of fewer methods to the salience of noise and disorder and physical work caused by children.

7

conclusion

The considerable diversity and complexity of the values that Filipino parents attach to children has been demonstrated throughout this study. Without attempting to penetrate beyond the conversational level of respondents' answers to survey questions, the investigation still discovered intricate patternings among the various aspects of values, in their interrelationships, and in the way they support particular behavioral intentions. Simply listing child values now appears to be clearly inadequate, since these values exist in an articulated structure and emerge only partially and incompletely as specific perspectives are adopted.

A key factor in the complexity of child values is their underlying richness, which permits different sets of values to be activated by different stimuli in different situations. Thus the values connected with wanting some children as against no children are different from the values attached to one more child or the values attached to sons or to daughters. It is not that parents are fickle or changeable in the way they value children, but that child values are capable of great specificity, and therefore generalizations have to be cautiously made. The child values respondents cited do in fact appear quite consistent if one interprets them carefully. For instance, the most common reason respondents spontaneously gave for wanting additional children was to provide more companions for siblings. Although in general this may not be a very important value of children, regression analysis confirms that the importance of this value is indeed one of the chief predictors of number of additional children desired.

Salient and central values and disvalues

An attempt was made to untangle the different specifications and orderings of values through a scheme in which each value is assumed to have three chief characteristics: salience, or frequency of reference to the value, in conversation and the media, for instance; centrality, or closeness to a person's basic concerns; and differential effect, or prominence in highlighting particular contrasts, such as boys versus girls or the first child versus the fifth child. The salience-centrality opposition has elements of the desired-desirable dichotomy, though the fit is not perfect. Salience reflects everyday thinking, whereas centrality is more often judged by ideal standards. Orderings of values according to each of these characteristics are assumed to be responsive to different factors and may therefore differ.

The most salient values were found to be the happiness that children bring to parents and to the family, the assistance they provide in old age, and help with the housework. Regarding centrality, on the other hand, the most important values are love between parent and child, the incentive to work harder when one has children to provide for, the desire to share with children and to learn about life through having children, and having children as an expression of parental roles. Economic and practical assistance from children is highly salient but of less hierarchical importance than noneconomic values.

One notable thing about both the salience ordering and the centrality ordering is that social pressures rank so low as reasons for wanting children. Few respondents mentioned satisfying religious obligations or the demands of relatives among the advantages of having children and, when queried about such pressures, tended to rate them as less important.

Some of these values were derived from open-ended questions, others from a factor analysis of attitude scales. The principal factor to emerge from the latter was called family continuity; it indicated an attachment to family traditions, a belief in the contribution of the family to societal continuity, and conviction about the positive roles children play throughout the family cycle. This factor appears to be a major traditional-modern dimension where valuing children is concerned. Because some respondents ranked this factor high in importance and others low, it does not appear high on the centrality ordering.

The most prominent disvalue in both salience and centrality was the financial burden of children. Also highly salient were disciplinary problems and anxiety over children's health and other aspects of childrear-

ing. Notably low on centrality were the restrictions on one's freedom and time that children impose.

Some value differences between different social categories emerged, although overall similarities rather than differences were more prominent. Rural respondents attached more importance than urban respondents to many positive values, particularly family continuity. The economic advantages of children were more salient for them, compared with happiness, family harmony, and other psychological rewards salient for urban respondents. Education and other status characteristics are related to assigning more psychological or emotional values to children, though each status characteristic has a slightly different effect. Male-female differences are not sharp. Where they exist, they concern the greater involvement of women with children through the mother role, more awareness by women of the practical problems of having children and concern with creating a proper environment for child-rearing, and their being somewhat more sensitive than men to social pressures. Respondents married longer were more practical and concrete in their expectations from children than were recently married respondents. Finally, the more efficacious as opposed to the less efficacious attached less importance to the limitations children impose and to their costs, and they tended to resist external pressures to have children.

Systematic comparisons of these value orderings with value orderings in some other Asian countries are contained in Arnold et al. (1975) and Fawcett et al. (1974). Some points are worth making nevertheless, though complete evidence, in the form of tabulations and relevant statistics, will not be duplicated here. Perhaps the most important point is that, while the orderings differ, the basic value categories used in this report were also applicable in the other countries studied—Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and the United States (Hawaii). Most of the structured questions that have been discussed were meaningfully interpreted and answered by respondents in the other country samples. For the open-ended questions, the category scheme used here was equally useful elsewhere and few responses were entirely country-specific.

Orderings did differ, however, and one important contrast concerned economic values. Of the rural Philippine subsample, 89 percent expected financial support from children in old age, while 85 percent of the urban lower-class and 72 percent of the urban middle-class subsamples expected old-age support. These percentages were exceeded, among rural subsamples, in Taiwan (92 percent) and Thailand (90

percent). For urban lower-class subsamples, Thailand came close (83 percent). For urban middle-class subsamples, on the other hand, the Philippine expectation far exceeded the second highest percentage (44 percent in Taiwan, followed by 29 percent in Japan, and ranging down to 2 percent among Caucasians in Hawaii). While expectations of economic help were generally high in the Philippines, they were exceptionally high relative to the other country samples for the urban middle class.

The same seems to be true of other positive values. On the eight-item family continuity index, for instance, the Philippine sample rated higher than other samples, and in fact agreed more strongly than any other sample with three of the eight items and second most strongly with three other items. On the 17 items representing positive motives to have another child, the Philippine sample had higher ratings on the average than any other country sample in nine cases when rural respondents were compared, eight cases when urban lower-class respondents were compared, and 14 cases when urban middle-class respondents were compared. This is even more remarkable because in eight additional cases the ratings of the rural Philippine subsample were exceeded only by rural Filipinos in Hawaii.[1] This is not because the Philippine respondents had fewer children and wanted more additional children. In fact they had a higher mean parity than any other country sample and wanted the second lowest mean number of additional children. To illustrate the gap between the Philippine sample and other samples, one may take the idea that having children is a religious duty. Those rating this motive as very important represented 58 percent of the Philippine rural subsample (as contrasted with 5 to 21 percent elsewhere), 37 percent of the Philippine urban lower-class group (as contrasted with 0 to 19 percent elsewhere), and 24 percent of the Philippine urban middle-class group (as contrasted with 0 to 10 percent elsewhere). That the Philippines, in contrast to the other countries studied, is predominantly Catholic may partly account for the emphasis on religious duty. Other motives for having another child that Philippine respondents rated considerably more important than did other country samples are: to make the marriage stronger, for economic assistance, for old-age support, because having a small baby is enjoyable, in order to have another girl, to please relatives, and to have enough children to survive to adulthood. These were not, however,

1 In Hawaii, Caucasians, Japanese, and Filipinos were distinguished. There were, however, no rural Caucasians or Japanese and no urban middle-class Filipinos in the Hawaii sample.

necessarily important motives for the Philippine sample, compared with other motives.

Differences in sampling procedures could account for some of these value differences. An attempt was made to draw parallel samples, but some variations were permitted and, given the small size of each sample, could have had large effects.[2] Nevertheless, the closeness in value profiles between the Philippine sample and the sample of Filipinos in Hawaii suggests that sampling variations were not entirely responsible for the differences. Another explanation, that a difference in response style is responsible (Filipinos being more agreeable), is not supported by the items representing motives not to have another child. The Philippine sample ranked generally in the middle on these nine items. There were two exceptions: the Philippine sample more than the other samples considered overpopulation and problems between spouses as very important. Another explanation that cannot be entirely ruled out is that the phrasing of the value items is closer to Filipino modes of thought than to Korean, Thai, or other modes of thought. Hence the Philippine sample might have found it more natural to agree with the items. It is difficult to judge this possibility. While the value questions were prepared cooperatively and were translated into equivalent local idioms, some bias in the original English statements in favor of Philippine idioms cannot be ruled out.

Nevertheless, these comparisons suggest (though, given these reservations, they do not establish) that children are more valued in Philippine culture than in the other cultures studied. Such values as economic assistance from children, the fulfillment of religious duties, and strengthening the marriage are more important in the Philippines than elsewhere. There is also less difference in valuing children between the urban middle class and either urban lower-class or rural respondents in the Philippines, the urban middle class also valuing children very highly, but in this case particularly different sampling procedures are probably partly responsible.

Cross-national comparisons of value salience are restricted by variability in the number and type of answers that respondents gave. To take only the three most salient values for the Philippine sample, happiness for the family or for parents is at the top or close to the top in salience in the other countries studied, particularly among urban groups. Assistance in old age is salient among rural groups, and espe-

2 See Arnold and Fawcett (1975), Arnold et al. (1975), Buripakdi (1975), Iritani (1975), Lee (1975), and Wu (1975) for sampling details.

cially highly ranked in Thailand. Help with housework, however, ranks near the top in salience only for the Philippine sample and for Hawaii-Filipinos. Among disvalues, the financial costs are uniformly salient. Concern with disciplining children seems to be specifically Philippine, since it is not highly salient anywhere else. And restrictions on one's flexibility and time, not salient for the Philippine sample, are not salient for Thailand, somewhat salient for Korea, Taiwan, and Hawaii-Filipinos, and very salient for Japan, Hawaii-Japanese, and Hawaii-Caucasians.

Effects of values and disvalues

The differential effect of these values and disvalues on the fertility desires and preferences of the Philippine sample is variable. Value salience apparently does not affect fertility desires much. Parity-specific measures of value centrality, on the other hand, have a strong influence on the number of additional children desired, even when social and demographic variables are controlled in a regression framework. Respondents who considered as very important such reasons for having children as companionship for siblings, the desire for a boy or a girl, fun around the house, enjoying raising children, and the spouse's desire for children also tended to want more additional children, even after parity is controlled. In general the reinforcing effects of children on social relationships, and the rewarding aspects of interaction with children themselves, appear to be the values most tied with number preferences. It has just been observed that social pressures and the benefits children confer on social groups were neither salient nor important. When effect on family-size desires is considered, however, values derived from social interaction appear to be primary among the positive values attached to children.

The disvalues affecting family-size desires are chiefly economic, and they have significant effects. Both economic costs and economic benefits, however, have slightly different effects among urban and among rural respondents. Costs are more of a motivating factor for urban respondents to prefer fewer children, benefits more of a factor for rural respondents to increase the number wanted. The sense of personal efficacy moderates the importance attached to particular values and alters sensitivity to them, increasing the sensitivity to costs and decreasing the sensitivity to external pressures.

The differential effect of values on family planning, on the other hand, is slight. With contraception often used for spacing, neither its use or nonuse, nor the timing of use, nor even general approval of con-

traception is much influenced by the values attached to children. A few significant effects do appear – for example, the costs of children led to greater approval of contraception and the financial burden of children led to earlier adoption among those who had used contraception. Generally, however, there is a little evidence in this set of data that respondents used family planning specifically to achieve particular child values.

Cross-national comparisons of differential effect are complicated, but the Philippine findings do not appear to be an isolated case. Value salience generally has weak relationships with family-size desires. Number-specific measures of values, on the other hand, are strong predictors of the additional children desired in most cases. Among these values, sibling companionship is the most important predictor not only in the Philippines but in all the other country samples except Korea. Among disvalues, the perceived economic burden of children is generally a useful predictor. The effect of values on family planning, however, is more variable. Better prediction was achieved in several other cases, and the values that have differential effect are not identical. Different family planning campaigns may give rise to these contrasts, as might other medial values related to the use of particular methods.

Limitations and possible extensions

Various limitations of this study have been pointed out in passing. It is important to stress them again. A small and specifically defined sample was interviewed, all married and with children, all relatively young, all residing in Tagalog areas within two hours' drive of Manila, and none being upper class or upper-middle class. The child values of this group may be indicative but cannot be considered representative of the values of other Filipinos. When comparisons are made between different groups of respondents, the limits of the sample may flatten the contrasts, or even, conceivably, exaggerate them.

A variety of measures of values was employed, but other measures could undoubtedly be devised, and shortcomings and omissions in the structured questions are evident from our own analysis. A complete inventory of cultural values was not available at the beginning of the study, so that some selectivity was unavoidable. The inherent limitations of the survey method led us away from psychoanalytic and biological motives for wanting children. Socially desirable motives may also be more prominent in the findings than they are in reality.

The data analysis too should be carefully qualified. Rather than rigorously testing models and hypotheses, we conducted the analysis

in an exploratory manner, to discover rather than to validate relationships. This procedure could have resulted in overemphasizing chance relationships, but by running parallel analyses for subgroups in the sample we attempted to avoid this pitfall. Only linear relationships were investigated, and this could have meant understating or overlooking important linkages. Links between values and actual rather than intended behavior, particularly, were difficult to establish. While the absence of such linkages may reflect the actual state of affairs (and the analysis of values and family planning suggests that it does), it may also reflect methodological deficiencies.

Possible extensions of the study are suggested by these limitations. A larger and more representative sample, and a longitudinal rather than a cross-sectional design, would be desirable modifications. With the identification of values that this study has accomplished, it should be possible for later studies to concentrate on specific values and disvalues, their components and correlates, possible substitutes and alternatives, and barriers to their realization. It may be worth paying more attention in later studies to medial values, values relating to sexual practices, childrearing techniques, and contraceptive technologies, if it is desired to establish stronger connections with actual behavior.

What has been said about the effects of values suggests a number of hypotheses that could be tested in more sharply focused studies, as well as some important reorientations for research. First, the data indicate that the individual's current intentions about additional children are more amenable to prediction and, one might argue, have greater psychological reality than retrospective desired or ideal family size. Second, the differential effect of the number-specific values supports the idea that values should be conceptualized as involving the person-in-a-situation rather than person or object separately. Third, it appears important to define a class of child values lying between personal psychological satisfactions and economic advantages, this class to cover the rewarding aspects of social interaction with children. Values based on interaction have a strong effect on family-size preferences. As to specific hypotheses, they are numerous and difficult to summarize. What would probably be most useful for later studies would be a comprehensive model for the role of child values in family formation. Though such a model should be based on cross-national data, one possible version of such a model was devised and is diagrammed in Appendix B. Similarly, hypotheses relating to the role of values in the demographic transition and specifically the effects of the increasing economic value of parents' time cannot be adequately evaluated without cross-national comparisons.

Implications for public policy

One may assume that the goal of public policy, insofar as it attends to the process of having children and to child values, is to maximize the values held by the individual, whether those values are child values or not, while minimizing the number of children, because of the additional burdens they place on the society, its institutions, and support systems. The balance between these two objectives is not easy to maintain. One could attempt to replace child values with other attainable values, or to make fewer children satisfy the same values as adequately as more children would. If, on the other hand, one attempts to increase or make more salient the disvalues of children without providing other compensations, one sacrifices the first objective for the second. Given the volume and acceleration in the demands that growing populations in the developing countries make on governments and social institutions, this may in fact be necessary, but special attention should be paid to the possibility that the sacrifice will fall disproportionally on the already disadvantaged.

Assuming that the second objective, to reduce population growth, is the more important one, we can try to draw implications from specific findings, subject, as always, to the limitations of the study.

1. The poor association between contraceptive practice and child values suggests that many couples do not attempt to control family size to maximize child values. This disjunction between behavior and values indicates that there is something to be gained from further promotion of voluntary family planning. Such promotion would be aided by the removal of all nonmedical restrictions on the dissemination of information on birth control and its practice. A voluntary program may, however, eventually fall short of population control goals, unless child values and family-size desires are themselves modified.

2. The link between social-interaction values and family-size desires suggests that a change in the quality of social relations could reduce number preferences. What sort of change this should be is not clearly indicated, but it would probably involve more individualism and self-orientation as opposed to collectivity-orientation, a greater preference for functional and specific rather than diffuse social relationships, more of an emphasis on achievement than on ascription in social roles, and generally a reduction in the centrality of family and kinship ties in the culture. These add up to the modernization of value systems, which is a massive, difficult, and drawn-out task.

3. The link between the financial burden of children and the desire for fewer children may be taken as an indication that the burden

should be increased, particularly for higher-order children. This is not easy to do without penalizing the children themselves, however. One would hope at least that government measures that actually reduce the costs of children, such as tax deductions and maternity benefits, would be reconsidered. Even here, however, one has to bear in mind possible deleterious effects on the future physical and mental health, and on the social and intellectual development, of affected segments of the population.

4. A few positive values, for example children as an incentive to succeed, sometimes have negative effects on number preferences and positive effects on family planning practice. These values seem to be related generally to education, and if they can be pinned down with greater precision it might be useful to emphasize such values at the expense of other positive values that lead to large families.

5. Other values appear to be of less importance, and accordingly less attention need be paid to countering them or to devising alternatives. Such would seem to be the case with wanting children to carry on the family name or to fulfill religious obligations.

6. Among the disvalues, the restrictions children impose on parents do not appear to be important. It may be wrong to discount this negative value, however, since cross-nationally there is some evidence that restrictions become more important with socioeconomic development. Further research on opportunity costs is indicated.

7. Two obvious ways to attempt to alter the relative importance of values and disvalues are education and propaganda. It has already been suggested that education increases the importance of particular positive values unrelated or even negatively related to family-size desires. Including specific discussions of child values as part of population education, as is already being done to some extent, could help to rationalize the process of decision-making in childbearing. Media exposure, on the other hand, should be increased in the rural areas, where it is related to smaller-family preferences. In Greater Manila, and conceivably in other urban areas, the opposite effect obtains, however; increased media exposure is related – not necessarily as a cause – to larger-family preferences. Finally, the findings on particular values and disvalues can be used as a guide to the development of media appeals.

8. The couples studied recognized the significance of population pressures, but their recognition did not go deep and did not affect family-size preferences. The media message regarding population problems has to be personalized, and implications for individual action have to be spelled out. Often awareness of population problems is pro-

moted on the one hand, and family planning to achieve personal preferences is pushed on the other, with no logical relationship being established between the two. The preference seems to be to manipulate couples into adopting family planning without informing them of the reasons for the government program, thus ignoring civic motivation, which is an essential element in a polity on a forced march toward development.

9. Finally, a number of different measures, related to particular values, are ethically desirable from one or another viewpoint, and are not contraindicated or may even find slight support in this study. These include raising the status of women and increasing their opportunities, increasing the coverage of social security programs—which, one should note, to be effective require both confidence in government and reasonable safeguards against inflation—and promoting the right of each child to some minimal amount of care from parents and to the educational and financial resources necessary for full human development.

It should be recognized that the most important of these value changes, such as those suggested under (2) and (3), depend on societal transformations, and that public policy can only operate to guide, and to a limited extent to accelerate, the process. The "laws" of societal dynamics will not be abolished overnight by passing new legislation. Public policy has to be informed by an awareness of the basic social facts and their interrelations. The style of policy-making called "disjointed incrementalism," the making of policy a step at a time under the pressure of different sets of converging political demands, is clearly inadequate for increasingly complex societies in an increasingly interdependent world. "Disjointed incrementalism" is in fact not a bad term to describe the way many people have their children and, whether in public decision-making or family decision-making, is a style that is increasingly inappropriate and dangerous. This study of the value of children is meant to contribute to the rationalization of both processes.

appendices

Appendix A Coding categories for advantages and disadvantages of children

ADVANTAGES

Happiness, love, companionship

Companionship, avoidance of loneliness
Love, affection
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom
Relief from strain, distraction from problems
Happiness for individual parent (general)
Happiness for family
Uniqueness, specialness in parent-child relationship

Personal development of parent

Character development, responsibility, maturity, morality
Incentives to succeed, striving to provide for children
Fulfillment of self, completeness as person
Extension of self
Learning from experience of childrearing
Motherhood, fatherhood; adulthood
Proof of fertility, masculinity, femininity

Childrearing satisfactions

Pride in children's accomplishment
Pleasure from growth, development of children
Children to carry out parent's hopes, aspirations
Opportunity to teach, guide, instill values
Satisfaction in one's childrearing ability, accomplishment
Satisfaction in providing for children

Economic benefits, security

Economic help in old age
Companionship, comfort, care in old age
Unspecified help in old age
Economic help (old age not mentioned)
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)
Help in housework, family chores; practical help
Sharing financial responsibility; insurance, security
Help in family business, farm
Help in taking care of other children
Unspecified help (old age not mentioned)

Benefits to family unit

Children as bond between spouses
Children as reason for, fulfillment of marriage
Children as family life, complete or close-knit family

Kin group benefits

Continuity of family name
Continuity of family traditions
Enhancement of reputation of family
Having future grandchildren
Children as heirs, someone to inherit family wealth
Religious rituals, ancestor worship
To increase strength, power of kin group
To satisfy desires of spouse
To satisfy desires of other kin

Social, religious influences

Conformity to social norms
Conformity to religious norms
Children as benefits to society

General, intrinsic value of children

Children as treasure, wealth, assets
Instinctive, natural to have children
General wanting, liking children

Other advantages

DISADVANTAGES

Financial costs

Educational costs
General financial costs

Emotional costs

Responsibility of parenthood
Discipline, moral behavior
Health problems of children
Concern over children's future success, happiness
Concern about satisfying children's present wants
Noise, disorder, nuisance
General rearing problems
General emotional strain

Physical demands on parents

Health hazard of pregnancy; maternal health
Physical work, tiredness caused by children

Restrictions on alternative activities

Restrictions on time
Restrictions on travel
Restrictions on social life, recreation
Restrictions on job, career
Restrictions on personal wants
Restrictions on privacy
General lack of flexibility, freedom

Marital problems

Less time, interaction between spouses
Disagreements over children
General marital problems

Kin group costs, problems of inheritance

Disadvantages relating to, affecting kin group

Societal costs, overpopulation

Disadvantages relating to, affecting society; concern about overpopulation

Other disadvantages

Appendix B Model for child production and values

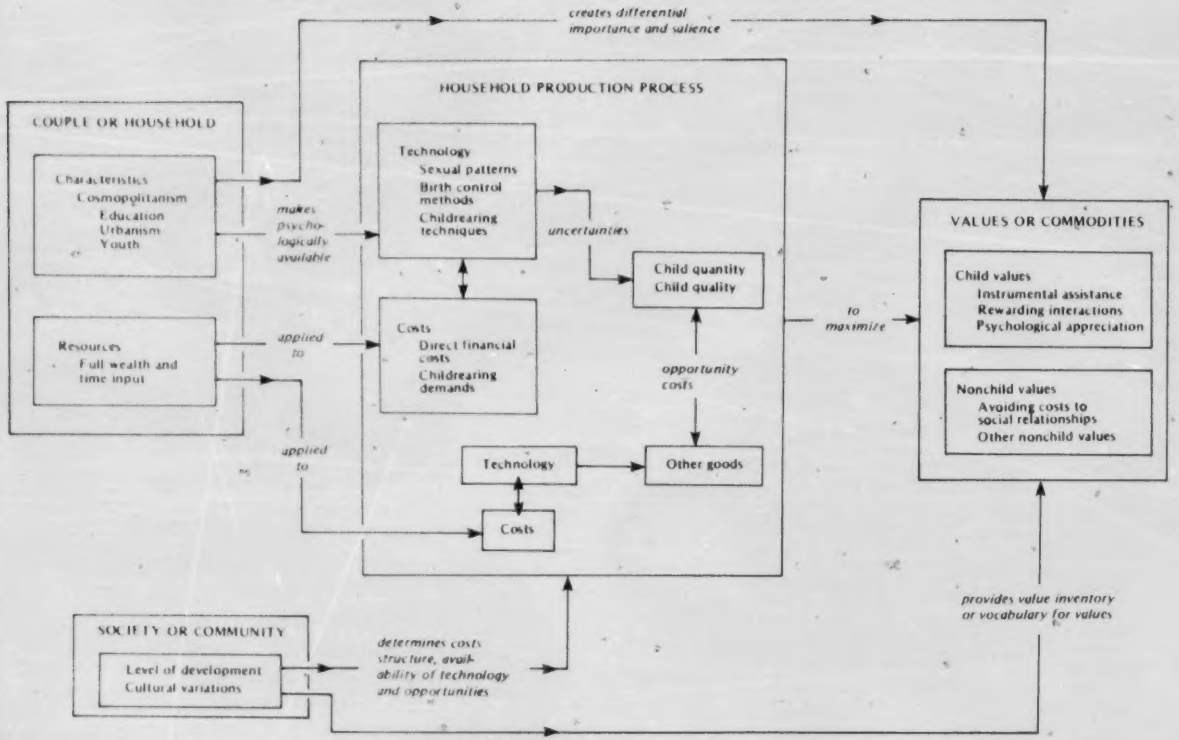
Exhibit B represents one way of thinking of the values and disvalues attached to children that is consistent with the emphases and the findings of this study. The attainment of values is conceived as the outcome of childbearing and childrearing behavior.

The principal units in the diagram are: (1) the resources the couple brings into the situation; (2) behaviors related to household production, including childbearing, childrearing, and other competing activities; and (3) values resulting from these behaviors. These elements are ordered in a behavioral sequence according to how things actually happen, rather than in a mental or decision-making sequence. If the latter sequence were used, values would precede family size, but behaviorally it is the attained family size that enables one to form and enjoy particular values. It is thought that the behavioral sequence actually underlies the decision-making sequence, that one makes decisions with some implicit image of the behavioral sequence in mind. Thus the model is an attempt to identify elements relevant to each decision regarding having children.

Exhibit B also suggests that a number of other variables besides family size may be interesting to study as dependent variables. One could attempt to predict the satisfaction one gets from one's family, or child quality, or the perception of opportunity costs.

The values attached to children in the model are divided into three general categories: (1) instrumental assistance from children, including financial assistance, household help, old-age support, and children to carry on the family name; (2) rewarding aspects of interaction with children, including play and fun, happiness for the family, and companionship for parents and for siblings; and (3) psychological appreciation of children, including children reinforcing the marital bond, the incentive value of children, pleasure from observing children grow, and love and affection. The disvalues are of four types: (1) direct financial costs; (2) opportunity costs, or restrictions on freedom, flexibility, and time; (3) childrearing demands, covering health problems, disciplinary problems, work and bother, emotional strain, and noise and

Exhibit B Model for child production and values



disorder; and (4) costs to social relationships, including limiting care and attention to other children, interfering with relations with spouse, and overpopulation. Except for the fourth, these disvalues are conceptualized not as goals of the household production process but as factors involved in the process.

references

Abelson, Robert P., and Milton J. Rosenberg

1958 Symbolic psycho-logic: a model of attitudinal cognition. *Behavioral Science* 3:1–13.

Arnold, Fred, and James T. Fawcett

1975 *Hawaii.* Vol. 3, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. Honolulu: East-West Population Institute.

Arnold, Fred, et al.

1975 *Introduction and Comparative Analysis.* Vol. 1, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. Honolulu: East-West Population Institute.

Atkinson, John W., and Norman T. Feather

1966 *A Theory of Achievement Motivation.* New York: Wiley.

Bacon, Thomas J.

1971 Desired and actual family size in the Philippines. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Chicago, Department of Sociology.

Barth, John

1972 *Chimera.* New York: Random House.

Berelson, Bernard

1973 The value of children: a taxonomical essay. President's report in *The Population Council Annual Report 1972.* New York.

Bogue, Donald J. (ed.)

1967 *Mass Communication and Motivation for Birth Control: Proceedings of the Summer Workshops at the University of Chicago.* Chicago: Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago.

Brislin, Richard W.; Walter J. Lonner; and Robert M. Thorndike

1973 *Cross-cultural Research Methods.* New York: Wiley.

Bulatao, Rodolfo A.

1971 The sense of efficacy and counterattitudinal advocacy. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Chicago, Department of Sociology.

Bumpass, Larry, and Charles F. Westoff

1969 The prediction of completed fertility. *Demography* 6:445–454.

Buripakdi, Chalio

1975 *Thailand.* Vol. 4, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. A joint publication of the East-West Population Institute and the Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University. Honolulu (forthcoming).

Castillo, Gelia T.

1970 Some sociological considerations in promoting family planning programs. *Solidarity* 5:12–16.

Clarke, Arthur C.

1953 *Childhood's End.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Concepción, Mercedes B., and F. Landa Jocano

1973 Demographic factors influencing the family cycle. Paper prepared for the Symposium on Population and the Family, East-West Center, Honolulu, August.

Cooley, William W., and Paul R. Lohnes

1971 *Multivariate Data Analysis.* New York: Wiley.

Costner, Herbert L.

1969 Theory, deduction, and rules of correspondence. *American Journal of Sociology* 75:245–263.

Crawford, Thomas J.; Elaine Stocker; and Roberto Heredia

1968 Family planning attitudes and behavior as a function of the perceived consequences of family planning. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston.

Davis, Kingsley

1955 Institutional patterns favoring high fertility in underdeveloped areas. *Eugenics Quarterly* 2:33–39.

Fawcett, James T.

1970 *Psychology and Population: Behavioral Research Issues in Fertility and Family Planning.* New York: Population Council.

Fawcett, James T.; Sonia Albores; and Fred Arnold

1972 The value of children among ethnic groups in Hawaii: exploratory measurements. In James T. Fawcett (ed.), *The Satisfactions and Costs of Children: Theories, Concepts, Methods,* pp. 234–259. Honolulu: East-West Population Institute.

Fawcett, James T., and Marc H. Bornstein

1973 Modernization, individual modernity, and fertility. In James T. Fawcett (ed.), *Psychological Perspectives on Population,* pp. 106–131. New York: Basic Books.

Fawcett, James T., et al.

1974 *The Value of Children in Asia and the United States: Comparative Perspectives.* Papers of the East-West Population Institute, no. 32 (July).

Feliciano, Gloria D.

1974 KAP survey findings in the Philippines: implications for training and developing family planning communications materials. In *Communications Status, Problems, and Prospects in Family Planning.* Monograph Series No. 4, pp. 17–51, UP/IMC-UNESCO-UNFPA Family Planning Communication Project. Quezon City.

Freedman, Ronald

1961–62 The sociology of human fertility: a trend report and bibliography. *Current Sociology* 10–11(2):35–121. (Reprinted by Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1963).

French, John R.P., and Robert L. Kahn

1962 A programmatic approach to studying the industrial environment and mental health. *Journal of Social Issues* 18:1–47.

Goldscheider, Calvin

1971 *Population, Modernization, and Social Structure.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Gurin, Gerald; Joseph Veroff; and Sheila Feld

1960 *Americans View their Mental Health.* New York: Basic Books.

Guthrie, George M.

1968 Psychological factors and preferred family size. *Saint Louis Quarterly* 6:391–398.

Harman, Alvin J.

1970 *Fertility and Economic Behavior of Families in the Philippines.* Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

Harman, Harry H.

1967 *Modern Factor Analysis.* 2nd. ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Heider, Fritz

1958 *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations.* New York: Wiley.

Hess, Eckhard H.

1970 Ethology and developmental psychology. In P.H. Mussen (ed.), *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology,* vol. 1, pp. 1–38. New York: Wiley.

Hoffman, Lois W., and Martin L. Hoffman

1973 The value of children to parents. In James T. Fawcett (ed.), *Psychological Perspectives on Population,* pp. 19–76. New York: Basic Books.

Insko, Chester A.; Robert R. Blake; Robert B. Cialdini; and Stanley A. Mulaik

1970 Attitude toward birth control and cognitive consistency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 16:228–237.

Iritani, Toshio

1975 *Japan.* Vol. 6, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. Honolulu: East-West Population Institute (forthcoming).

Jaccard, James J., and Andrew R. Davidson

1972 Toward an understanding of family planning behaviors: an initial investigation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 2:228–235.

Jocano, F. Landa

1969 *Growing Up in a Philippine Barrio.* New York: Holt, Rinehart.

Katz, Daniel, and Ezra Stotland

1959 A preliminary statement of a theory of attitude structure and change. In Sigmund Koch (ed.), *Psychology: Study of Science,* vol. 3, pp. 423–475. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kluckhohn, Clyde M.

1951 Values and value orientations in the theory of action. In Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action,* pp. 388–433. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Kluckhohn, Florence, and Fred L. Strodtbeck

1961 *Variations in Value Orientation.* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson.

Lee, Sung Jin

1975 *Korea.* Vol. 7, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. A joint publication of the East-West Population Institute and the Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. Honolulu (forthcoming).

Lewin, Kurt

1935 *A Dynamic Theory of Personality.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Madigan, Francis C.

1967 Population and levels of living in the rural Philippines. In Francis C. Madigan (ed.), *Human Factors in Philippine Rural Development,* pp. 130–149. Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University.

Maslow, Abraham H.

1959 *New Knowledge in Human Values.* New York: Harper.

1962 *Toward a Psychology of Being.* Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand.

McGuire, William J.

1969 The nature of attitudes and attitude change. In Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology,* 2nd ed., vol. 3, pp. 136–314. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Meade, Robert D.

1971 Assessment of personal motivation for childbearing. In *Proceedings of a Conference on Psychological Measurement in the Study of Population Problems,* pp. 69–72. Berkeley: Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, University of California.

Morris, Charles W.

1956 *Varieties of Human Value.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mueller, Eva.

1972 Economic motives for family limitation: a study conducted in Taiwan. *Population Studies* 27:383–403.

Namboodiri, N. Krishnan

1972 Some observations on the economic framework for fertility analysis. *Population Studies* 26(2):185–206.

Namboodiri, N. Kirshnan, and Halowell Pope

1968 Social norms concerning family size. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston.

Parsons, Talcott, and Edward A. Shils (eds.)

1951 *Toward a General Theory of Action.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Pohlman, Edward H.

1969 *Psychology of Birth Planning.* Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.

Rabin, Albert I.

1965 Motivation for parenthood. *Journal of Projective Technique and Personality Assessment* 29:405–411.

Rabin, Albert I., and Robert J. Greene

1968 Assessing motivation for parenthood. *Journal of Psychology* 69:39–46.

Rainwater, Lee

1960 *And the Poor Get Children.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

1965 *Family Design.* Chicago: Aldine.

Rokeach, Milton

1974 *The Nature of Human Values.* New York: Free Press.

Rotter, Julian L.

1966 Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs,* 80.

Savage, Leonard J.

1954 *The Foundations of Statistics.* New York: Wiley.

Schultz, Theodore W.

1973 The value of children: an economic perspective. *Journal of Political Economy* 81(2, part 2):S2–S13.

Sears, Robert R., Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin

1957 *Patterns of Child Rearing.* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson.

Seeman, Melvin, and John W. Evans

1963 Alienation and social learning in a hospital setting. *American Sociological Review* 27:772–783.

Skinner, B.F.

1971 *Beyond Freedom and Dignity.* New York: Knopf.

Smith, David Horton, and Alex Inkeles

1966 The OM scale: a comparative socio-psychological measure of individual modernity. *Sociometry* 29(4):353–377.

Smith, M. Brewster

1949 Personal values as determinants of a political attitude. *Journal of Psychology* 28:477–486.

1963 Personal values in the study of lives. In Robert W. White (ed.), *The Study of Lives,* pp. 324–347. New York: Atherton Press.

Spranger, Eduard

1928 *Types of Men.* Paul J.W. Pigors, trans. Halle: Niemeyer.

Stolka, Susan M., and Larry D. Barnett

1969 Education and religion as factors in women's attitudes motivating childbearing. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31:740–750.

Terhune, Kenneth W.

1973 Fertility values: why people stop having children. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention.

Thomas, W.I., and Florian Znaniecki

1918 *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* vol. 1. Boston: Badger.

Tolman, Edward C.

1951 A psychological model. In Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action,* pp. 279–361. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Vernon, Philip C., and Gordon W. Allport

1931 A test for personal values. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 26:233–248.

Westoff, Charles F.; Robert G. Potter Jr.; and Philip C. Sagi

1963 *The Third Child.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Westoff, Charles F.; Robert G. Potter Jr.; Philip C. Sagi; and Elliot G. Mishler

1961 *Family Growth in Metropolitan America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Whelpton, P.K., and Clyde V. Kiser (eds.)

1946–58 *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility.* New York: Milbank Memorial Fund. 5 vols.

White, R.K.

1951 *Value Analysis, Nature and Use of the Method.* Glen Gardner, N.J.: Libertarian Press.

White, Robert W.

1963 Ego and reality in psychoanalytic theory: a proposal for independent ego energies. *Psychological Issues* 3(3).

Williams, Robin M.

1968 Values. In David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 16, pp. 283–287. New York: Macmillan.

Williamson, John B.

1970 Subjective efficacy and ideal family size as predictors of favorability toward birth control. *Demography* 7:329–339.

Wu, Tsong-Shien

1975 *Taiwan.* Vol. 5, The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study. A joint publication of the East-West Population Institute and National Taiwan University. Honolulu (forthcoming).

Wyatt, Frederick

1967 Clinical notes on the motives of reproduction. *Journal of Social Issues* 23:29–56.